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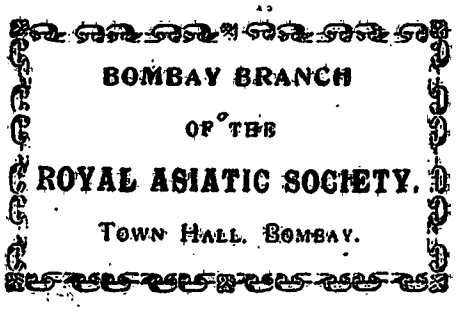

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VICTORIA.
Lower Lachlan
Lachlan
NEW SOUTH WALCETS
Murrumbidgee
WIMMERA
LODDON
MURRAY
GIPPSLAND
BASS STRAIT
MELBOURNE
PORT PHILLIP
GEELONG
SANDHURST
CASTLEMAINE
BALLARAT
Goulburn
Echuca
Horsham
Kilmore
Bendigo
Sandhurst
Ballarat
Geelong
Portland
Belfast
Cape Otway
Wilsons Promontory
Note.

THE

COLONY OF VICTORIA:

ITS

HISTORY, COMMERCE, AND GOLD MINING;

ITS

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS;

DOWN TO THE END OF 1863.

WITH

REMARKS, INCIDENTAL AND COMPARATIVE, UPON THE OTHER AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

83831

BY

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AUTHOR OF "VICTORIA AND THE GOLD MINES," ETC.

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PREFACE.

An Australian colony exhibits much of the change of scene as well as the speed of course of an express train. As one looks back after each successive stage of the way, the fresh stand-point ever shows the collective retrospect in some new aspect. Accordingly, although I have now four times over written the history of Victoria, I have always composed a fresh work, without any reference whatever to preceding volumes, and without even once opening their pages. The new colonial developments, the varied new or enlarged personal experiences and views, all alike demand an independent work. And such is the case with the present volume. It is a good deal larger, and greatly more diversified in contents than any of its predecessors; but that is only the very least that the subject might demand.

I have been indebted, however, to several preceding works of others upon the colony for refreshing my memory as to various subjects and dates. In particular, I have to notice Mr. G. T. Lloyd's "Thirty-three

Years in Tasmania and Victoria" (London, 1862); Mr. Thomas M'Combie's "History of Victoria" (Melbourne, 1859); and above all that charming store of early facts, so well assorted, and so carefully collected, by Mr. James Bonwick, in his "Port Phillip" (Melbourne, 1856).

These and some other works, including, of course, the invaluable statistics of Mr. Archer, the Registrar-General, have helped me in various ways. But throughout the greater part of what I have recorded, I have ever drawn upon my own personal recollections —the scenes that passed before my eyes in and about that Melbourne which, from its village condition since I first set foot in it, has now risen to such importance in the world.

I take the opportunity of thanking several gentlemen—Mr. Childers, M.P.; Mr. George Rolfe, late of the Victoria Legislature; and Mr. J. G. Knight, Honorary Secretary of the Victoria Emigrants' Assistance Society of London—for useful information they have supplied to me, as well as for some amount of trouble their good offices may have cost them.

It is not easy, in the abyss of the records of half a hundred colonies at the Colonial Office, nor indeed in any other accessible quarter in this country, to find, at the moment required, just the particulars one wants, relating to a single member of the multitude. Victoria, the greatest of our colonies, is still amongst a number

of others of lesser note, that have not as yet deemed it worth their while to possess any kind of official representation in London. Such a representation, comprising a place of free resort and reference, with its suitable collection of the colony's public documents, apart from its advantages in promoting the general objects of the colonists, is a most desirable institution for all who seek for prompt and accurate information about Victoria; and, above all, it is especially convenient for those who undertake the colony's history.

WILLIAM WESTGARTH.

16, Brunswick Gardens, London, W.,
1*st March*, 1864.

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COLONY OF VICTORIA.

CHRONICLE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS.

1770. First discovery of the coast within the Colony's boundaries by Cook, about the Ram Head, April 19.

1798. Bass reaches Western Port from Sydney, thus proving the existence of the Strait called after him, January 4.

1800. Remainder of the coast line discovered by Lieut. James Grant, R.N., from 141° E. long. to Western Port, December.

1802. Port Phillip discovered by Lieut. Murray, R.N., February 15.

1803. Convict settlement, under Lieut.-Governor Collins, formed at Port Phillip; arrival, October 7—9.

1804. Departure for Van Diemen's Land, January 1804.

1824. Hume and Hovell reach Port Phillip overland from Sydney, December.

1834. Portland Bay settled by Messrs. Henty.

1835. Port Phillip first colonized by Batman; arrives at Indented Head from Van Diemen's Land, May 29.

—— Site of Melbourne occupied by a party sent from Van Diemen's Land by Fawkner, end of August.

1836. The northern and western interior explored by Mitchell, and named by him "Australia Felix."

—— Earliest local authority; Captain Lonsdale, as Police Magistrate, arrives at Melbourne from Sydney, October 1.

1837. Visit of the Governor Sir Richard Bourke, in March; naming and planning of chief towns; names of Melbourne, Williamstown, and Hobson's Bay gazetted at Sydney, April 10.

1839. Mr. La Trobe appointed Superintendent of Port Phillip, arrives September 29.

1840. First public meeting to promote separation from New South Wales, held at Melbourne, December 30.

1843. The Port Phillip settlement proclaimed as the Southern District of New South Wales, with boundaries defined as they still continue for the colony of Victoria.

—— A representative legislature established in New South Wales by Imperial Act of 1842, consisting of one-third members

of Crown nomination and two-thirds elected members; Port Phillip contributing one-fifth of the elected body.

1843. Municipal institutions conferred on Melbourne and Geelong.

1851. The Australasian Anti-Transportation League inaugurated at Melbourne, February 1.

—— The Port Phillip District separated from New South Wales, and erected into the colony of Victoria, July 1.

—— Discovery of Ballarat gold-field, September. Hargreaves had first discovered an Australian gold-field on the 12th of February preceding.

—— Mount Alexander gold-fields discovered, October.

—— First Legislature of Victoria assembles, consisting of ten nominee and twenty elected members, November 11.

1854. Sir Charles Hotham succeeds Mr. La Trobe as Governor of Victoria, arrives June 21.

—— The colony's first railway, from Melbourne to Hobson's Bay, opened to traffic, September 12.

—— Victoria Exhibition Building erected at Melbourne, and preliminary display of the colony's contribution to the great International Exhibition at Paris, 1855; building opened in October.

—— Civil outbreak on the Ballarat gold field, November; suppressed December 3.

1855. New Constitution for self-government proclaimed in Victoria, November 23.

—— Death of Sir Charles Hotham, December 31.

1856. First Parliament under the new Constitution assembles at Melbourne; two elected houses of legislation, and responsible ministries, November 21.

1857. Sir Henry Barkly succeeds Sir C. Hotham, November; Major-General Macarthur having been Acting-governor in the interval.

1861. Australia first crossed from sea to sea (Port Phillip to Gulf of Carpentaria) by Burke and Wills, who died of starvation at Cooper's Creek on their return; reached the Gulf February 13; died about June 30.

—— Preliminary display of Victoria's contribution to Great International Exhibition at London, 1862, at the Melbourne Exhibition building, October 1.

1863. Sir Charles R. Darling succeeds Sir H. Barkly; arrives, September 9.

EXPLANATION OF THE MAP.

THE map exhibits the Colony's territory, with reference to the recent important Lands' Act of 1862. For the purposes of that Act a classification of the soils of Victoria was prepared, from which it was ascertained that the colonial area, as to character and holding, stood as follows in the year 1861:—

The total area was 55,644,160 acres, of which there had been already made available for use of some kind 43,357,160 acres, leaving 12,287,000 acres unavailable.

The available area consisted as follows:—

Sold to the public before the Act of 1862 . .	4,728,000 acres.
Leased under a previous Land Act, 1860 . .	130,000 „
Reserves for commonage	1,600,000 „
Squattage, including ten and a half million acres, to be selected as agricultural land . .	33,829,760 „
Ditto, under licence, but still unstocked . .	1,846,400 „
Unoccupied waste lands	1,223,000 „
Total . . .	43,357,160 acres.

The unavailable area was thus classified:—

Mountain ranges	6,225,000 acres.
Mallee scrub and similar country . . .	5,660,000 „
Lakes, morasses, etc.	402,000 „
Total . . .	12,287,000 acres.

By this survey it was ascertained that, in addition to the lands sold and the commonage reserves, there were still about ten and a half million acres of land suitable for agriculture. This land it was proposed to have gradually surveyed and declared open for purchase. In the meantime the first efforts were to be directed to the survey of four millions of acres, the first instalment of the whole ten and a half millions. The shaded spaces of the map

represent the latter total, and the darker shaded parts are the area of the four million acres. These four million acres had already been surveyed at the end of 1863.

The Colony is now divided into 1st, twenty-four counties, whose united area is distinguished by the red coloured outline on the map, and, 2nd, three great pastoral districts. This division was made in the year 1848, and had particular reference at the time to certain imperial regulations regarding squatting (the "Orders in Council" of 1847), which have now expired or been superseded.

A large portion of the Colony, chiefly its central areas, is distinguished as gold-fields districts, which, so far as regards the mining interests, are under a special authority. This auriferous area comprises six great "mining districts," namely, Ballarat, Castlemaine, Maryborough, Ararat, Sandhurst, and Beechworth. These districts, collectively, contain about one half of the Colony's population.

The present population of Victoria is about 560,000. The Colony is separated from South Australia on the west by the 141st degree of east longitude, and from New South Wales on the north by the River Murray, and a straight line from Cape Howe to the nearest mouth of that river. Victoria has no part of the Murray, the southern bank having been fixed as the boundary line.

ERRATA.

Page 386, line 19, for *Sir R. J. Murchison*, read *Sir R. I. Murchison*.

Page 398, line 25, for *iniquities*, read *inequities*.

THE COLONY OF VICTORIA.

CHAPTER I.

A PERSONAL RETROSPECT—1840—1863.

Many Names Victoria, but only one Colony—Its great rise—Chief features of the case—Melbourne, Past and Present—The Colony at Three Preceding Periods, when the Author has successively written its History—Its Present Condition on this the Fourth occasion—How to treat the Subject for the General Reader.

Colony of Victoria.

In assuming the pen for the purpose of writing a work upon the Colony of Victoria, I may state that I do so for the fourth time. The term Victoria is in profusely, I might almost say confusedly, general use. It is scattered in especial abundance over our colonial territories. There are towns Victoria and rivers Victoria more than enough. Happily for my subject, however, there is but one Colony of Victoria, the great gold-bearing province of South-eastern Australia, and it is this colony I am now engaged with.

Wonderful rise.

For more than ten years past Victoria has been the most conspicuous of all our colonies; and with reference to the magnitude and character of its commerce, it has been also, perhaps, throughout that interval, the most important of them. And yet but twenty-eight years have elapsed since the first handful

of settlers, proceeding from Tasmania, pitched their tents, and erected their rude huts and cottages upon a vacant area at the head of Port Phillip, and these tents and other domiciles were the first houses of Melbourne. Upon the site thus selected has since arisen a substantial and handsome city, the capital of a self-supporting and self-governed province of the Empire. Melbourne contains more than one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants; it is lighted with gas, and artificially supplied with fresh water; its palace of legislation, an edifice worthy of the colony's ambition, is second, perhaps, only to the great edifice of Westminster; and in point of population, wealth, and commerce it occupies already, within our empire, the position of the London of the southern hemisphere.*

Squatting and Gold-mining.

Narratives of progress and prosperity, however marvellous in their way, may yet possess such a character of sameness as in great measure to deprive them of interest to the general reader. The line of Victoria's march, however, is by no means a straight, undeviating ascent; it is, on the contrary, unusually diversified for a colony. The rapid but steady course of pastoral commerce that for the first fifteen years distinguished the country was affected in different and conflicting ways after that period by the effects of the discovery of the gold-fields. Then followed times of extraordinary bustle and business. Ballarat, Mount Alexander, and Bendigo became world-famous, and population poured

* Even outside the empire, only Rio de Janeiro rivals, or rather latterly outrivals, Melbourne in the south. In 1855 Rio had a population of 296,136; and in the year 1856-7 its imports were £13,761,773, and exports £12,722,601. Melbourne in 1857 had 90,000 people, with imports £15,038,042, and exports £14,080,093. Rio's commerce has increased since then, and Melbourne's slightly diminished.

in from nearly every country. The 'cute Americans arrived from the extreme west, and from the far east came troops of dusky Chinese, who, in long lines, like so many flocks of sheep, tramped up to the various gold-fields. There was an amazing commercial development, by which, in the phrase of Mr. Wentworth, the colony was precipitated into a nation. This expansive activity was succeeded by a grievous reaction, and this reaction has been, in its turn, followed by a more settled condition of the colony's commercial affairs, and a more promising social aspect. Such is the Victoria of to-day, as we proceed to give her measure to the public.

Author's fourth History of Victoria.

Thus it is that, although I have my story to repeat for the fourth time, I have never found myself restricted to repetition and sameness. There is always on such occasions some essentially different stand-point for an author, who, at successive intervals of a few years, undertakes the history of lively and impulsive Victoria. Her future is ever rolling in upon the colonists charged with something new or unexpected. To myself, who have witnessed the colony's advance from a very early infancy, the variety and magnitude of the present are ever suggestive of an interesting retrospect. At the date of my first arrival, in December, 1840, the young settlement had still a very primitive appearance, for it had only completed five years of its existence. Melbourne was then a scattered village, containing between three and four thousand people. A busy and restless assemblage they mostly then were, for the fame of the place and the inpouring crowd of intending settlers, including many with considerable means, had resulted in a general impulse towards land-buying, and affected every one with hopes of speedy fortune-making.

Personal Retrospect, 1840.

The streets, or those of them that already rejoiced in something more than mere lines upon the green sod, resounded with the bells of the auctioneers, who were selling and reselling in an endless circle the "lots" of the virgin soil to the eager immigrants. The street alignments still fought their way over aboriginal grass and through primeval forest. On an errand of business, or friendly visits through the pretentious area of the township, one would grudgingly toil through wide intermediate vacancies. But the little empty fields that so tried our patience, some enclosed by a rude fence, others not even so cared for, all rejoiced alike, even then, in the inspiring name of "town allotment," and in a future that was entirely their own. Nor have they at all come short even of the most sanguine promise, seeing they are now the busy centre of the Southern metropolis.

Let me recall the varied position of Victoria on the different successive occasions on which it has happened that I have written my account of the country. These occasions were the ever-recurring periods in which, as pursuing mercantile business, I found it advantageous to pay a visit to this country—a home visit, as the colonists still dutifully distinguish a trip to their mother country. The ample leisure of each voyage was pleasantly occupied with these successive compositions. Arriving in the colony for the first time, as already stated, towards the end of the year 1840, I remained
1847. until 1847. What is now the separate colony of Victoria was then only a District of New South Wales. This Port Phillip, or Southern District, however, had already a population of forty thousand colonists, and Melbourne, containing from ten to twelve thousand of that number, had been for four years a municipal cor-

poration, whose elected members still maintained their protracted warfare with the gullies that the casual torrents had scooped out in the streets, and with the gum-tree stumps that yet lingered over the site of the expanding capital.

Six years more have passed, and again I must needs start for "Home;" and once more the pen moves to the music of the winds and waves, as we sail through the heads of Port Phillip, and steer for the far north and west. The narrow entrance channel of the spacious harbour is now a lively spectacle all day long with the incessantly arriving and departing shipping of the rising colony. There are by this time wonderful changes to speak about. Not the least of these, in the estimation of the colonists, is that by which the Port Phillip District, the dependency of New South Wales, has become the independent colony of Victoria. The younger sister had been released, after a dozen years of struggle, from the close embrace of the elder, who, however, had at least paid the other the compliment of showing decided unwillingness to part with her company. The prosy title of the Port Phillip District had been relieved by the promising and somewhat poetic *alias* of Australia Felix; and the colonists, on the principle that use is the main authority in names and language, were gradually dismissing the prose and installing the poetry of their nomenclature, when the *prestige* of the present name conferred upon their adopted country by desire of its royal owner herself, made a summary end of both the previous claimants. 1853.

But again, when I embarked for England six years before the time here spoken of, it was in a very ordinary conveyance, a sailing craft of only some four hundred tons dimensions; although, perhaps, it was quite on a

par with the scale and style of the time, with the limited business and embryo notoriety of Port Phillip. This time, however, all is entirely different. Our vessel is a steamer, a small but handsome member of the great fleet of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and we are bound; not as before, for the long and circuitous, the dreary and stormy Cape Horn, but for the classically famous, the picturesque, the fashionable, the expensive "overland route." What has induced those magnates of the steam world thus to stretch their arms to the very outside of the Empire, and to invade these remote waters of Port Phillip? It is gold and the gold-fields that have set them, as well as many more, in a full tide of movement. Wonderfully prompt has been the response, for hardly eighteen months have passed since the treasures of Ballarat and Mount Alexander have been made known, and already the streets of Melbourne rival the busiest parts of London.

The "old hands," that is (under a new reading not in a "transportation" connection) those primeval inhabitants, who arrived a few years earlier, are now beset by an immigrating world. They are looked up to as the masters of the situation in that gold-girt horizon. They are the patricians of a new Rome, while the inpouring and awe-struck *plebs* would fain make fortunes out of every sentence of advice or warning that dropped from their lips. Many of us hasted off for a temporary respite from the ceaseless tide of that busy scene—its business, its cares, its duties, the fatigue of its very recreations, its social discomforts, and the expense, as well as discomfort, of everything connected with living. The calm that followed the weighing of the anchor was a luxury worth enjoying. Equally enjoyable was it to find, on landing in good old

England, and demanding our money's worth for our money, that the accustomed consideration had come back to the British sovereign. That consideration, at least in any approach to its old degree, had been well nigh forgotten in golden Victoria, although fortunately each of us had still condescended to lay in some supply of the depreciated article when we came away. Here a sovereign was still truly precious metal; there it was but a quarter ounce of the commonest of colonial products, which you would pitch to a boots, or a waiter for a few days of very doubtful attentions, and for which he would hardly thank you.

Retrospect, 1857.

There are four more years, bringing us to 1857, and again there is another home visit. Still there are varied events, still there are new developments. My last account of the colony, preceding that of the present volume, deals with this time. The great feature of this new interval is the concession of self-government made by the Imperial authorities to the Australian colonies. The new system had been in operation for a year, and was accepted with ardour by the satisfied colonists. The social turmoil and commercial excitement of four years previous, have, in great measure, subsided. On the other hand, there is a continuously large production of gold, and all colonial real estate, although not maintaining the highest valuations of the late excited times, still commands an extraordinary value, and far beyond what it has since fallen to. Business is on a great scale, with great works of all kinds going on, and high wages to the labouring classes, who occupy a very dominant position under the new political order.

The present work, 1863.

Lastly, there are above six more years, bringing us to the end of 1863, and what have they further done

for Victoria? More, I think, than any of the previous intervals, although the events and changes have been in general less outwardly noticeable. I have not, during this last interval, personally revisited the colony —the pleasant and diversified scene of so many previous years of my life; but, as I have diligently kept pace with the passing events, I can say that it is with quite as much interest as formerly that I now sit down to compose the fourth history. The colony has been gradually subsiding from the disturbing upheaval of its social and commercial interests, caused by the discovery of the gold-fields. That great event might in its effects be compared to the roll of a huge wave over the country. The amount of the imports and exports increased tenfold within two years, and the value of landed property in favourable situations increased within the same time fifty, and even a hundredfold. Extravagance of living and misdirection of industry characterized those racy days of fortune-making, while they temporarily impoverished the colony for the great bulk of its people. Society is now more healthy, and the colony really more prosperous. Industry is more general, and is ploughing up the land instead of merely buying and selling its otherwise neglected surface. In short, Victoria is once more a country of cheapness and plenty, as it ought ever to be while a profusion of rich agricultural lands only await occupants. In this respect, indeed, the colony is returning to its condition of a dozen years ago, prior to Ballarat and Bendigo; and that, too, notwithstanding that these volcanoes of a sort that were lately so disturbing, still continue to eject their "dust of gold."

Plan of the work.

In settling the plan of the work, I propose, in the first place, to give a sketch of the more prominent

events of the colony's history, and afterwards to present its present actual condition and attainments under a variety of chapters, embracing the population and employments, the institutions and social aspects of the country. The present, rather than the past, is ever what is interesting in a colony. The last year's progress, the last mail's news, are what the general reader is mostly concerned about. Of course I am speaking with reference to home readers, for the colonist can revel in a world of past incident—himself, perhaps, a participator in the greater part of it.

At this point one is naturally led to consider what is the best and most approved mode of writing the history of a colony. Not surely in the pretentious forms of historical record and minute annals. There is a use for such records, but not for the general reader. There must be but little worthy of the venerable name of history in the brief rude life of most of our colonial settlements. They are apt to present somewhat of a hard and dry subject in these days of statistical method and profuse detail in all countries and colonies, and the rival race of preparation for world's congresses, and such like stimulants. Indeed, an author's colonial material is now in this way rather oppressively abundant and entangling. I shall congratulate myself, and even more, my reader, if I can, for the time being, forget ninety-nine hundredths of the details of the last yearly volume of the Registrar-General of the Colony—an orderly labyrinth, as one may call it, of nearly five hundred great pages. It has not been unstudied, which is the least acknowledgment one can make of so complete and excellent a digest, while to have been unable to say so would hardly have added to one's qualifications for the present subject. Now, however, this

ponderous tome is shut, and if we are to get along at any hopeful pace, I must endeavour to keep it shut. We must try to pick out from endless incident and detail what is of interest, as well as what is important to people in general. Where we have not the venerable antiquity of old countries, and the long contest of traditions with institutions that so mainly constitute historic interest, the attraction lies chiefly in what is contemporaneous with ourselves, in the condition of the year or the hour in which we ourselves are living and acting. We thus deal with, as it were, the newspapers of literature, or rather, in our fast age, with the telegraphic summary.

I must, therefore, in whatever relates to the past, endeavour to give interest to my subject by ever marshalling it before the present. Any more methodical record of events must be avoided, and I shall content myself with selecting some of the more remarkable circumstances, which no one desirous of knowing Victoria's history should be ignorant of. Some of them, too, may claim to be the world's episodes, edged off, as they sometimes are, by striking contrasts, and as showing the humble twilight that preceded a bright future. In such a view may we now place the story of Buckley, and the early and adventurous expedition of Hume and Hovell, overland, from the Sydney district to Port Phillip. All such incidents and episodes furnish pleasant or instructive comparison, as we go along, with the later condition and attainments of the colony.

Later Changes and Improvement of Colony

To return, then, to the thread of a kind of personal narrative with which I was engaged; I had arrived at the interval since my last account of the colony, published six years ago, and a leading object I have now in view is to place before the reader some of the prin-

cipal developments of that interval. The unfolding of the future in Victoria has often been in unforeseen and unexpected directions during this last, as during the previous intervals. Some of the later circumstances are striking and interesting; and, still better, they are mostly of an inspiring character as regards the colony, in all its relations. Gold and gold-mining, it was thought, from old Spanish, and other reminiscences, would unsettle the colony's industry, and the earlier years lent a sanction to this idea. Who, for instance, writing in the busy and expensive, the extravagant and rather disastrous year 1857, would have anticipated the steadiness of all colonial pursuits, as well as the cheapness and plenty of everything useful or necessary in 1863, when house-rent, butcher's meat, bread, and agricultural produce generally, were reduced in price to one-half, and even to one-fourth of former rates. And who that, about the same time, witnessed the colony absorbed in the seemingly endless discussion of noisy politics that followed upon the concession made to it of self-government would have predicted that; in regard to the merits and variety of industrial production, Victoria should carry off the highest palm from amidst the grand competitive muster of the colonies at the late International Exhibition.

All these colonial features are subjects of high interest to the mother country, as showing how her children comport themselves in other places, and under other conditions than those of home. There are various points of departure from the home model, but in general the children follow in the mother's steps, and they have a reasonable pride to belong to her great empire.

CHAPTER II.

ABORIGINAL VICTORIA—1770—1835.

Colony of Victoria defined—First discovered by Cook, 1770—Bass Strait, 1797—Port Phillip discovered, 1802, by Murray; examined by Flinders—Convict Colony, under Collins, at Port Phillip, 1803-4; removed to Van Diemen's Land—Hume and Hovell's Overland Expedition to Port Phillip, 1824-5—Discover the rivers Hume, Ovens, and Hovell—Reach Port Phillip and Geelong; uncertain as to the place—Successful return—Settlement formed in mistake at Western Port; abandoned soon after.

Victoria defined.

THE colony of Victoria is situated at the south-eastern extremity of Australia, and at that part where the great southern continent makes its furthest stretch towards the Antarctic Ocean, and by its projecting headlands enters the temperate climate of the fortieth parallel of south latitude. From this southern extreme the area extends northwards to 34° of latitude, while between east and west it is comprised within the 141st and 150th degrees of longitude east of Greenwich. In shape the country resembles a triangle, having its apex at Cape Howe, the eastern extremity, and its base at the western boundary line, the 141st degree of longitude. The greatest length east and west is about five hundred and sixty miles, by a greatest breadth north and south of nearly three hundred miles, along the basilar line of the triangle. The area is 86,831 square miles, or 55,644,160 English imperial acres, an extent of surface which is

but a little less than the 89,005 square miles of Great Britain. The mean shade temperature of the colony, as represented by that of Melbourne, the capital, in south latitude 37° 49′, is 57°.8, which is more than the mean of London (49° 3′), in north latitude 51°, by above 8°, and is nearly the same as that of the Mediterranean sea-coast of France and the interior of Portugal.

Victoria, as a distinct colonial government, dates from the 1st July, 1851, when its territory was separated from that of New South Wales, and received the honour of its present royal name. The colonization of the country, however, had been commenced somewhat earlier, namely, at Portland Bay in the year 1834, and at Port Phillip in the year following. The population of Victoria, by the latest census, that of 7th April, 1861, was 540,322, including 1694 aboriginal natives. Date of Origin.

From the extreme south of Australia we shall diverge for a moment to the extreme north, just to make a remark upon the earliest authentic discovery of the country, some new facts having quite recently transpired on the subject. The interest we feel from the importance of the present is reflected back to the furthest past of our remarkable and rising Australia. The late researches of Mr. Major bring to light that the first authenticated discovery of Australia was not by the Dutch, in the year 1605, as hitherto supposed, but by the Portuguese, four years earlier, under Manoel Godinho de Heredia. It is not unlikely that the discovery by Europeans was really made nearly a century earlier, although no sufficiently distinct or authentic record has reached us on the subject; and if the rivalry of Asiatic civilization and enterprise is to count for anything in the question, the Chinese and Australia discovered, 1601.

others have doubtless preceded Europe by many centuries.

Victoria discovered, 1770—1802.

The date of the earliest discovery of any part of Victoria has not yet acquired the moderate antiquity of a century. On the 19th April of the year 1770, Captain Cook came upon the part of the colony's coast at and a little westward of the Ram Head, close to Cape Howe, at the extreme eastern boundary; but no further exploration of its outline took place at that time. The great navigator had turned his ship to the northward, where he named and visited many places that have since become busy and familiar scenes of other settlements, including Port Jackson, already the harbour of the world's commerce, as well as Botany Bay, ominous for its after associations. Excepting this eastern extremity thus made known by Cook, the coasts of Victoria continue a blank in the earth's geography for yet some time longer. Indeed, extraordinary as it now seems, we enter the nineteenth century ere this reproach to modern science is entirely removed. In the year 1797, Bass, in an adventurous voyage of discovery from Sydney in a whale-boat, passed into the strait that has since borne his name, and proved for the first time that Van Diemen's Land was separated from Australia. He was able to proceed, however, only as far as Western Port; and it was not until the year 1802 that the rest of the Victorian coast was made known, thus completing at last the outline of Australia.

Port Phillip discovered, 1802.

Amongst the latest of these late discoveries of Australia was that of Port Phillip, the noble harbour of the commerce of Victoria, which so soon after its introduction to the world's acquaintance, was to become one of the great centres of the world's traffic. Port

Phillip was discovered on the 15th February, 1802, by Lieutenant Murray, in the government brig the "Lady Nelson." He, in the first instance, named the inlet Port King, in honour of the governor of the day at Sydney; but this name was afterwards, at Governor King's request, changed to Port Phillip, in compliment to his predecessor, the first governor of the colony. Murray entered the harbour, and gave to several prominent objects the names they still retain, including Arthur Seat, a hill at the south-east bend of the harbour, so called from some fancied but rather indistinct resemblance to the remarkable and classic hill at Edinburgh.

Flinders at Port Phillip.

Only six weeks after Murray's visit, Port Phillip was again found and entered by Baudin, the French explorer, and four weeks after him by our own distinguished Flinders. Flinders was then completing the coast outline of the southern continent, and having met at the outset of his discoveries with the remarkable inlets of Spencer and St. Vincent Gulfs, he was delighted to conclude his course, as he believed at the time, by giving to the world so noble an expanse of inland waters. He, too, bestowed several of our present names, particularly Indented Head, and Station Peak, the latter so called from observations that were made from its summit. Australia has remembered the latest even more than the earliest discoverer of the coasts of her great colonies, and thus his name is more plentifully distinguished than that of Cook over our maps. Flinders' Street is the great mart and thoroughfare of the wholesale and import business of Melbourne, while the Flinders' River, familiar to us by the recent journeys of Burke and Wills, and Landesborough, across Australia, is probably the largest of

the streams of her northern area. Entering Port Phillip on the 27th April, Flinders landed on the northern shore of Geelong harbour, from whence he walked across the grassy plains to Station Peak, noticing and commenting on the pastoral adaptation of the country, which must have appeared to advantage during the pleasant temperature of the later autumnal season of his visit. The Geelong and Melbourne railway now wakes up the solitudes of sixty years ago, thus traversed by Flinders; while from the summit of the Peak, in a north-eastern direction, we can readily detect, in the steam of the passing trains, yet another railway, a part of the great system that entirely crosses the colony between Melbourne and the River Murray.*

Convict Colony at Port Phillip, 1803.

Flinders having been captured by the French, and detained for six years at Mauritius, the results of his successful explorations remained long unknown. But Murray's account of Port Phillip had attracted sufficient notice to induce the Home Government to project the formation at that place of a second convict settlement, supplementary to that which had already been established since the year 1788 at Port Jackson. Accordingly in 1803, only a year after Murray's dis-

* This work is not meant for a minute record of Australian discovery; otherwise, justice to the labours of a foreign power in this cause would have called for a notice of the voyage of M. Baudin, who was busy with the western coasts of Victoria simultaneously with Flinders, and who had the merit of priority as to a part at least of the country in that direction, which he named Terre Napoleon. There was at the time an emulous race for priority of discovery in this interesting field, and Baudin was reduced to little more than one degree of longitude, namely, the sea-coast of the south-eastern extremity of the present colony of South Australia, between 139° and 140° 10′ of east longitude. Baudin was hospitably entertained at Sydney, notwithstanding war in Europe between the two nations. One must regret the sorry return made to Flinders.

covery, a first detachment of convicts was sent out to the new harbour, under charge of Lieut.-Colonel Collins, and a party of military. This pioneering expedition, which comprised three hundred and sixty-seven male prisoners, arrived at Port Phillip in the Government ship of war, "Calcutta," and the tender "Ocean," between the 7th and 9th October of that year, and on the 16th effected a landing on the southern shore inside the port, at a place about half way between Point Nepean and Arthur Seat.

Abandoned, 1804.

The selection of a place of settlement on this occasion was not a happy one, according to our present enlarged knowledge of the qualities and resources of our harbour. Above all, there was no stream of fresh water within reasonable distance for immediate necessities, and in the face of the approaching summer. Great inconvenience was experienced, and early the next year the whole party were transhipped to Hobart Town, to become there the nucleus of a system as hideous in its moral aspects as the country that for half a century was devoted to it, was beautiful and inspiring in most of the choicest gifts of physical nature. Had our country thus early occupied itself in founding a colony of free settlers instead of a colony of malefactors, Victoria might now regret such a summary rejection of the merits of her chief harbour, a procedure that resulted in delaying for more than thirty years the permanent colonization of the place.

Question of Convict Colonies.

The convict question, on which we shall have more to say in the progress of our work, has been one of rather angry debate between these colonies and the Imperial Government ever since the former began to possess that considerable and concentrated population which is necessary to a steady public opinion. The

golden chains that accompanied the convict in the shape of an Imperial expenditure, and largely helped the fortunes of many colonists, have, nevertheless, not prevented Australia from declaring against the system. She has fought successfully in procuring its abandonment as respects its original seats in the eastern settlements. There is still, however, a murmur of contention, for now that the eastern horizon is clear there is a lowering upon the west. The colony of West Australia was made convict as her Eastern sisters were made free; and the golden chains still entangle the former, and prove, after more than a dozen years' experience, to be still the weightiest and most attractive alternative to a slow and unprosperous colony.

We have alluded to an interval of more than thirty years, transpiring between the first abortive effort at the colonization of Port Phillip under Collins and that which, under the happier auspices of free enterprise, resulted so successfully in founding our great colony. How much such a space of time may be worth in the world's history, and especially in the first life of a colony, the example of Victoria herself may show, for her whole existence does not yet entirely fill that interval. One is thus tempted to speculate upon the picture of progress that Australia may present after a further term of years. The distinguished patriot, Franklin, seeing some flies restored to life after a long suspended animation, expressed a wish that he, too, might be properly corked up within adequate accommodations, and restored after a century, in order to witness the probably grand position of his beloved United States. As the satisfaction, in his case would, perhaps, prove of only a mixed character, we shall not, in ours, hazard any such hopes and wishes,

and our posterity will have the less to be disappointed with.

Hume and Hovell's Expedition to Port Phillip, 1824.

We have described the first and the last discovery of the colony's coast line. The interior country was still unknown, and remained so for full twenty years after the departure of Collins. But Australian colonization had not meanwhile been standing still. The convict foundation at Sydney had expanded into a vigorous colony by the introduction of many enterprising free colonists. In the year 1824 two of these colonists projected a bold and great achievement. Contemplating with laudable interest the unknown expanse that lay to southward, far beyond the furthest settlements outside of Sydney, which then reached only to Lake George, these colonists proposed an overland expedition to the Southern ocean. The explorers were Mr. Hamilton Hume and Mr. Hovell, and the journey they had projected required in these early days far more of courage and determination, perhaps, than might be necessary now for the expedition across the entire territory from sea to sea—an exploit we have just seen triumphantly and repeatedly accomplished.

There was but little of direct result from this journey, beyond the establishment in the year 1826, by the New South Wales Government, of the short-lived settlement at the entrance of Western Port. That place had been selected on the occasion, because from the travellers' report of the southern waters they had reached, the Colonial Government inferred that the coast was that of Western Port, whereas they had in reality, as it afterwards proved, emerged upon the shores of Port Phillip. Nevertheless, we must allude to a journey both adventurous in itself, and now read with interest, as referring to scenes which so soon after

they were first viewed by civilized man in all the wild solitude of nature, have been transformed into the busy seats of a large and yearly-increasing commerce. The river Murray is now navigated by steam, even beyond the spot of its upper waters, where with difficulty and danger it was crossed by Hume and Hovell; and the Ovens district, still retaining the name given to its river by the travellers, is now one of the great gold-fields of Victoria, and boasting of its considerable capital, the incorporated town of Beechworth. No settler had at that time crossed the Murrumbidgee with his flocks into that ambitious riverine district, which, as we shall presently see, is now occupied with prosperous squatters, clamorous even for a separate government of their own.

Object of the journey.

The governor of the colony had promoted or suggested this expedition. He was desirous of ascertaining if any large rivers passed towards the east coast through the country that lay to the south. To accomplish this object he had entertained a plan of landing some of the convicts, who were then but too plentiful a proportion of the population under his care, at the southern extremity of Wilson's Promontory, with a promise of either their freedom or a "ticket of leave," if they found their way overland to Sydney, and gave an account of the intermediate country. Hume discouraged this plan, but he agreed to undertake an expedition himself upon a plan of his own, which was that of reaching Western Port, a place that at that time was in far more repute than our early-tried and blighted Port Phillip. He was joined in his scheme by Hovell, and with six prisoners of the Crown the party was completed, and became the first of Victoria's "overlanders." The leaders themselves supplied the

chief outfit, which consisted of several horses, and two carts that were drawn by oxen. The Government after all had proved rather sparing of aid, and contributed only pack-saddles, a tent, and some few other articles, but were liberal in the promise of rewards in the event of any useful discoveries being made.

Departure, 17th Oct.

On the 17th October, the party were at Hume's out-station at Lake George, the outermost of the settlements at the time. In a few days they reached the river Murrumbidgee, whose bed, thirty to forty yards wide, they found brimfull of water, with a stream at the rate of from five to six miles an hour. This was a formidable obstacle to the travellers, but by making a boat or raft of the body of one of the carts, they were all carried safely across.

Rivers discovered.

The next difficulty in the southerly march was still more formidable. This was a noble river of yet larger dimensions, which received Hume's name, as he had been the first of the party to descry it.

The Hume.

The Hume, or the Upper Murray, as it is now alternately called, was eighty yards wide, of great depth, and with a current at the rate of three miles an hour, while the difficulties of crossing were enhanced by lagoons, which ran parallel with the river along either of its banks. It was observed that the course of the stream was inland like that of the Murrumbidgee, and not eastward towards the nearest sea-coast. Following the downward course for two days, in the vain hope to find an easier crossing place, the party retraced their steps, and after several days' journey, during which a beautiful country was traversed, with grass growing breast high, and sometimes even towering above their heads, a narrower part of the channel was reached, where the water-stream was but forty yards across, and where,

although not without danger, all reached the opposite bank.

This crossing was effected on the 16th November, at a part of the river a little above the junction of the Mitta. On the 24th, the expedition had reached the eighth river of the journey. This river was named the Ovens, and was easily crossed, being but three feet deep. It has been more fortunate than some of the others, in retaining to this day the name given to it by its first discoverers. The name of the Hume has well nigh disappeared from our later maps, by substitution of that of the Murray, conferred upon it afterwards by Sturt at a lower part of its course. The 3rd of December brought the party to yet another river, beautiful in scenery, and of considerable size, which was named in honour of Hovell, but which, in common with the Hume, has since taken another name; the Hovell being now the Goulburn.

The Ovens.

The Hovell.

Two days afterwards, and at a short distance from this river, they found themselves, by their reckoning, in 37° 8′ of south latitude, and in a country where they encountered many difficulties from the almost impenetrable scrub, and the tall strong sharp-bladed grass, that tore their clothes and cut into their flesh. To all these troubles was superadded that of the want of water. Here, after toiling for several days, in a vain effort to force a way to the southward, a retreat was decided on. Having extricated themselves, and made a sweep more to the westward, an easier passage was found in a south-westerly direction. A considerable hill, adjacent to the scene of their difficulties, received the name of Mount Disappointment. It is one of the conspicuous landmarks from Port Phillip, and it still bears the name given to it by our travellers. From

Mount Disappointment.

this position the travellers perceived, as they turned their eyes to the westward, a conspicuous object of the same kind, which is now the familiar Mount Macedon of the colony's geography, but which they named Mount Wentworth, in honour of the distinguished colonist of New South Wales. Mount Wentworth.

The party had not proceeded far in the new direction ere they descried, from a rising ground, and for the first time, the blue waters of an inlet of the southern sea. Arriving at a creek that ran into this harbour, and finding it had plenty of fresh water, they camped for a day to recruit themselves. Afterwards proceeding for some distance westwards along the shore, they fell in with one of the natives, and from him ascertained that the water before them was called Geelong. This name, then an unknown sound, is since familiar to us as that of the western arm of Port Phillip, and of the second seaport of Victoria, a handsome and well-built town, of nearly 25,000 inhabitants, and enjoying municipal privileges already of twenty years' standing. But a word now so well known fell on the travellers' ears for the first time, and afforded them no clue whatever. They were sufficiently sure, however, that the noble inland sea before them must be either Western Port or Port Phillip. Hovell insisted it was the former, but Hume, who was the more sagacious and experienced traveller of the two, maintained that it was the latter, for he had ascertained from Bass's party that Western Port contained two large islands, whereas no such features were visible as he now gazed over the broad expanse of Port Phillip. Reach Port Phillip.

Our travellers next bethought themselves of a return homewards, and, accordingly, on the 18th December, they turned their faces to the north. Notwithstanding Return to Sydney.

that their stock of provisions was soon after consumed, they contrived to pick up a precarious subsistence by the way until they had regained their carts, which, with part of the original supplies, they had been compelled to leave behind when they entered upon the rough and hilly region near the Hume. They had previously held a rather interesting and friendly meeting with a large party of the natives. Hume's out-station was regained on the 18th January, 1825. The leaders were rewarded with grants of land, and their convict attendants, with the favour, perhaps equally appreciated, of a "ticket-of-leave."

Temporary Settlement at Western Port, 1826.

The authorities at Sydney seemed inclined to endorse Hovell's opinion as to the harbour being Western Port; and, accordingly, in 1826, the traveller was despatched with Captain Wright and his small party of convicts to re-discover the beautiful Geelong. But he sought for it in vain; and, soon afterwards, the settlement that had been formed on the east side of the eastern entrance, near the present township of Corinella, was summarily ordered to be abandoned, the Home Government disapproving of this system of scattered convict settlements. Hume is justly proud of his greater correctness. He published an account of his romantic expedition in the "Sydney Herald" newspaper in 1833, and he has since referred to the effect of this information upon the Van Diemen's Land colonists in directing their attention to the colonization of Port Phillip.*

More than ten years elapse from the time of Hume and Hovell's arrival at Port Phillip, ere the place is again visited by our countrymen. But the visit this time is to more purpose than the last, for it results in

* Bonwick's "Port Phillip," c. iv.

the permanent colonization of the country. The preceding arrival at the harbour had been from the north; this time it is from the south—from that Van Diemen's Land to which Collins had retreated when disappointed with Port Phillip. Surpassingly beautiful in climate and scenery, in spite of its penal stain, Van Diemen's Land had attracted many free settlers, and was already a flourishing colony.

CHAPTER III.

COLONIZING OF PORT PHILLIP—BATMAN AND FAWKNER.—1835.

Batman is pioneer; Fawkner the founder of Melbourne—Henty precedes both at Portland Bay, 1833-4—Batman's projects since 1827—Arrives at Port Phillip 29th May, 1835—Meets the Natives, and purchases 600,000 acres of Land—Settles on Indented Head, and warns off intruders—Government annuls his Purchase—A Very small Compensation only awarded—Fawkner and Party leave for Port Phillip, July, 1835—State and Prospects of Van Diemen's Land at this time—Fawkner detained—Party proceed in August—Followed by Mr. John Aitkin—Examine Western Port—Enter Port Phillip, 16th—Ascend the Yarra—Select the site of Melbourne—Plough and sow the land—Mr. Wedge's visit—Fawkner's arrival 10th Oct.—Batman removes to the same site in November.

Batman and Fawkner Colonize Port Phillip, 1835.

Two persons are conspicuous in the early colonization of Port Phillip. These are Mr. John Batman and Mr. John Pascoe Fawkner. They each proceeded from Van Diemen's Land, and from Launceston, the northern seaport of that colony. This was in the year 1835; and although both movements were not quite simultaneous, the later was not far behind in the traces of the other. Batman is the prior in entering Port Phillip, where he precedes Fawkner by about two months. But to Fawkner, on the other hand, or rather to the party that went forward under his instructions, for he himself was compelled by illness

to turn back from his first expedition, is due the distinction of having selected for settlement the site of the future capital, a distinction which has gained for him the title of the Father of Melbourne. Here were debateable grounds indeed for a rivalry of merits between the two founders of a great future. The mutual contention, nourished by some other antagonistic incidents, waxed warmer with each step of the early progress. It was a new Rome, where Romulus and Remus were this time not brothers. Batman, however, died at Melbourne, after but four years of his new prosperity. Fawkner has been more fortunate, and although now well advanced in years, he still takes his part in the public affairs of his adopted country, having sat in the colonial parliament from the beginning of the separate government and legislation of Victoria.

Preceded by Henty at Portland, 1834.

We shall first direct our attention to the proceedings of Batman, and next advert to those of Fawkner. There is yet a third party worthy to be enrolled with the founders of Victoria, and who, in fact, preceded both Batman and Fawkner, but who has succeeded to fewer honours, and a less notoriety, from the circumstance that his enterprise was directed to a part of the country that has not risen to the importance of Port Phillip. This part of Victoria was the Portland Bay district, which, owing to its pastoral adaptation, was visited so early as the year 1833, and occupied for sheep-farming purposes in the year following, at the instance of the late Mr. Thomas Henty, of Launceston. Mr. Henty was, therefore, in reality the first to colonize Victoria. If Portland and her adjacent circuit realize the separate colonial existence they now claim, the name of Henty will have the prominence to which it is entitled. We shall presently have occasion to speak further of this

early settlement at Portland Bay, when we come to describe the expedition of the late Sir Thomas Mitchell in 1836, and the agreeable surprise of the traveller when he came upon the lively homestead of a part of Mr. Henty's family, after traversing those wide but beautiful solitudes which he distinguished by the name of Australia Felix.

Want of Authenticated Records.

Each year of the colony's progress and importance reflects a proportionate interest on the events of its early history, and makes it the more desirable as a public object that we should be assured of the correctness of that history, and should possess a properly authenticated record of its more interesting incidents. It is not in my present plan to deal much with detail. From many notes on this subject now before me, however, I can observe that there is some contradiction as to important facts, besides no small variety otherwise amongst the increasing writings upon the colony's early affairs; so that, in spite of some local experience and personal information on the subject, one is not always sure of being precisely correct. We have observed, too, that Mr. Fawkner has been repeatedly correcting mistakes in the accounts given by others regarding this early history in those parts of it in which he himself happened to be personally concerned. But we have been drawn into this train of reflection chiefly by the fact that many who were the original actors upon this early stage have since died, and that as nearly thirty years have now elapsed we can only anticipate that, in a few years more, all of them will have passed away. The subject seems not unworthy of the attention of the colonial government or the legislature, for the labours of an intelligent commission.*

* While the work is going through the press, I notice in the "Melbourne Herald," of 26th September, 1863, a letter from the

Let us now return to Batman. In his letter to Governor Arthur, of Van Diemen's Land, dated 25th June, 1835, he describes his expedition to Port Phillip, undertaken the month before, and its objects. He states, in the first place, that he is a native of New South Wales, and has been resident for some years in Van Diemen's Land, engaged in civilizing the aborigines; and that for this purpose he had brought with him eleven aboriginal Australians from his native colony to assist him. He then states that he had long before entertained a high opinion of the character of the country on the north side of Bass's Strait; and that, acting in conjunction with Mr. Gellibrand, of Hobart Town, so far back as the year 1827, he had asked of the New South Wales Government permission to occupy land at Port Phillip, and had contingently undertaken to transport to the place live stock of the value of £5000. His request, however, at that early time, had been refused, in the first place, because Port Phillip was beyond the limits of the territory (the settled part, we presume), and next, because a settlement that the government had already tried in the neighbourhood at Western Port had shortly before been totally abandoned. Batman's Projects, 1827-35.

Batman then comes to his present enterprise. He intimates that he left Launceston on the 12th May, in a small vessel, which, as his diary further tells us, was the "Rebecca," of only thirty tons, and which, delayed by storms and winds, did not enter Port Phillip till the 29th. Batman is careful to inform the Van Enters Port Phillip, 29th May, 1835.

daughter of Mr. George Evans, one of Mr. Fawkner's party, suggesting the same official inquiry. She wants justice to her now aged father; we want accurate materials for history. Those we already have are likely to be still further obscured by such little personal differences as Miss Mary Ann Evans alludes to.

Diemen's Land Governor that Port Phillip, the all but unknown place to which he steered, is "on the south-eastern extremity of New Holland." With characteristic ardour he landed on Indented Head on the day of his arrival, and waded with delight through the long grass. Observing the fires of the aborigines, and being desirous of communicating with them, he journeyed into the interior, accompanied by seven of his New South Wales aborigines. After some search, they met with one of the native tribes; and it appeared that the language of this tribe so closely resembled that of two of Batman's natives, that the respective parties could readily understand one another. Having persuaded the people of this tribe to accompany him back to the place where he had landed, Batman delighted the simple creatures with a variety of presents. Having, by similar means, gathered together and favourably impressed still larger bodies of the natives, he proceeded to unfold to them his plans for the future, stating that he meant to take up his residence amongst them, and to bring across the seas his wife and his family of eight children, including no less than seven daughters; and also proposing to buy from them a tract of their country.

Buys the Country from Natives.

And a goodly tract indeed our hero proposed to buy; and with but slight difficulty he did buy it, so far as regarded these unwitting children of nature, who, at his direction, went gravely through all the ceremonials of a first lesson at land conveyancing. The whole west and north of Port Phillip was thus intended to have passed from its primeval aboriginal holding (whatever that may have been) with as much alacrity and ease as an auctioneer could transfer a bushel of oats to the author of the last bid of half-a-crown or thereabouts for the lot.

Batman established his position upon the rising ground of Indented Head, as a sort of Mount Look-out for the guardianship of his rights from all intruders. From this commanding point the little vessel, the "Enterprise," sent forth by Fawkner, was promptly descried, as she passed within the Port Phillip Heads on the 16th August. Fawkner himself has sarcastically related how his party were met by a message despatched by a boat from Batman's camp to the enemy below, warning away these and all other trespassers, in the name of John Batman, king of Port Phillip. Like another king of old, who "sat upon the rocky brow" of another famous scene, King John looked down upon elements pregnant with future contention. We shall presently come to the proceedings of Fawkner, and the reply of his party to these claims. Neither was of a nature calculated to mollify the antagonism about to arise between the two aspirants to fame to which we have already alluded.

Settles on Indented Head.

But even Fawkner's dogged party was a small difficulty in Batman's way compared with the authorities, both colonial and imperial, who, as he doubtless feared from the first, would be apt to criticize somewhat narrowly the whole case of this land bargaining. Like a good tactician, therefore, he has put himself in the best legal position the case will admit of. He describes very gravely, in his letter to Governor Arthur, how the "chiefs" entered into the matter with thorough cognizance and good will, and on the 6th of June, 1835, conveyed to him, with all legal ceremonial, two tracts of territory around the western coasts of Port Phillip. The consideration given was a present supply of flour, blankets, and tomahawks, those most attractive objects to aboriginal wants, besides an

annual tribute of the same for the future. The territory disposed of comprised the Geelong country (or Jeelong, as it should have been spelt), of about 100,000 acres, and the adjacent Douti Galla country to the north-east, having about 500,000 acres more.

Value of his Purchase.

Men are often called on to reflect what great destinies they might, but for something or other, have been heir to, and what chances of fortune they have missed. No instance is more striking than the one now before us. Batman's colossal bargain was not confirmed at head-quarters. Had the case been otherwise, there would have been a bargain on record that most likely the world never witnessed before. Prosperity rolled over the settlement at a rapid rate, even from the first, and a climax still surpassing all before came with the discovery of the goldfields. Within twenty years this vacant territory, upon which the cities of Melbourne and Geelong have since sprung up, carrying on a large commerce with most of the countries of the world, and for which the aboriginal occupants were willing to accept about £200 worth of merchandise, might have been estimated to have attained, during the height of speculative excitement, a value of more than £40,000,000.

The Association he acted for.

Some time before Batman's expedition, Governor Arthur had suggested to him to carry out his longings for a colonizing adventure to Port Phillip by means of a company, and by making, as he had done, a bargain with the natives for a tract of their country. Batman therefore formed his company, and a nephew of the governor's was one of its members, as well as Mr. J. Hilder Wedge, an early and ardent abettor of the Port Phillip enterprise. It also included Mr. J. T. Gellibrand, who was more enthusiastic if possible than even

Batman himself, and to whom perhaps is due more than to any other individual the colonizing enterprise that had by this time set in towards Port Phillip, and that was now described as the Port Phillip fever. The names of the members of this company, the fathers of Port Phillip colonization, justly deserve record. They are fourteen in number, namely,—Charles Swanston, Thomas Bannister, James Simpson, J. T. Gellibrand, J. and W. Robertson, Henry Arthur, J. H. Wedge, John Sinclair, J. T. Collicott, A. Cotterell, W. G. Sams, M. Connolly, and George Mercer.

Purchase not legal.

Governor Arthur, however, when he came to the answer to Batman's communication, either thought it necessary to be somewhat guarded in his expressions, or had learned from some late experiences that the prospects of the enterprise in regard to the land question were not by any means encouraging. In his reply, which is dated the 3rd of July, Batman is warmly commended for his enterprise, but he is also informed that the Port Phillip territory is not within the Van Diemen's Land jurisdiction. It is further intimated that Batman's bargaining with the natives would appear to stand in opposition to the principle assumed by the Imperial Government in establishing, very recently before, the colony of South Australia, which principle was that the title to Australian territory was parliamentary, and was not derivable from the aborigines. As a further discouragement, it was added that the application of Mr. Henty the year before for a grant of land at Portland Bay, to the westward of Port Phillip, had been refused by the Home Government.

Annulled by Government.

We may here dispose of the history and claims of the Association. Its members were not indeed antici-

pating the high destinies which a brief future were to realize to the territory they had taken possession of, but they valued their possessions and claims sufficiently to be quite indisposed to put up quietly with defeat. They had but little hope of influencing the authorities at Sydney, so they addressed themselves direct to the Home Government. Lord Glenelg, who then occupied the Colonial Office, replies through his assistant, Sir George Grey, under date the 14th of April, 1836, and addressed to Mr. Mercer, one of the Association, who had then come to this country. His lordship throws them off at all hands on the ground of rights, and he is altogether unfavourable to any of the several proposals, more or less on this ground, made by the Association. He will have neither a quit rent, nor yet a certain amount of purchase money, which, as proposed, was to be specially expended in connection with the young settlement and its aborigines.

Allusion having been made to an opinion obtained by the Association from Dr. Lushington, to the effect that that learned gentleman "does not think that the right to the territory adjacent to Port Phillip is at present vested in the Crown," Lord Glenelg intimates that he cannot admit this doctrine, more especially as he is ignorant on what grounds it is founded. He asserts that the Port Phillip district is comprised within the boundaries of New South Wales, and consequently that its lands "cannot be disposed of except according to the rules by which General Bourke is required by the king's commission, by His Majesty's instructions under the sign manual, to alienate such property." But it is stated that Governor Bourke will be instructed to take the case of the Association into favourable consideration.

This "favourable consideration" brought a very inadequate result to the persons who had commenced so important a movement as the colonization of Port Phillip. They had founded a settlement which even from the first gave promise of high importance, and they had expended several thousand pounds in the cause, besides a much greater value in time and personal exertion; while all the liberality extended to them was a compensation in the form of a remission of purchase money for land to the extent of £7000. The representatives of the Association exercised their remission right on the occasion of one of the colony's land sales in February, 1838, in purchasing a quantity of land to the westward of Geelong. The sale was as usual by public auction, at the upset price of the day of 5*s.* per acre; and the quantity of land purchased was 9416 acres at the price of £7919 7*s.*, from which amount £7000 was remitted as the compensation agreed upon.

Results in a small Compensation.

Considering the position this Port Phillip settlement has so rapidly attained, one looks back upon the comparatively small space of time with some interest, in perusing the expressions made use of by the Imperial Government respecting this as yet undeveloped giant of the colonial family. "The suggestion," says the colonial secretary, "that a new colony should be formed in the southern portion of New South Wales, of which the infant settlement at Port Phillip should be the future capital, raises a question of great importance and difficulty, on which it would be impossible that His Majesty's Government should form a decision without much previous inquiry. They would probably consider it right to postpone any such measure until after it should have been maturely considered by the

respective governments of the existing Australian settlements." These words, written so short a time ago as the 14th of April, 1836, give us a forecast of the battle for "separation," which the young settlement carried on for eleven years with its mother of New South Wales—its step-mother, according to the angry phraseology of the day of battle. The agitation for separation was formally inaugurated in the year 1840, and it closed in 1851 by the erection of the Port Phillip district into the independent colony of Victoria.

Fawkner's Party follow Batman.

Let us now return to Fawkner. He was behind Batman in his arrangements, but was busy projecting a colonizing expedition at the time of Batman's departure from Launceston on his first visit to Port Phillip. He had offered to accompany Batman, but the latter would not allow him, and he therefore proceeded to organize his own independent expedition. Disappointed of a vessel he had endeavoured to secure for the conveyance of his party across Bass's Strait, it was not until the middle of July that another, the "Enterprise," was got ready for this purpose. Meanwhile Batman had been over to the opposite Eldorado, and back again to Launceston, where he made quite a commotion in the quiet little seaport by the account which he gave of the great domain he had purchased from the Port Phillip aborigines. This account quickened Fawkner's movements. He and Mr. George Evans definitely arranged their colonizing party, and sailing down the beautiful River Tamar, had reached the sea at Georgetown, when they were driven back by a storm, and were unable to resume the voyage till the 4th of August. In the interval, however, Fawkner had become so unwell that he was compelled to return to Launceston, leaving his party to go on under his in-

structions left with Mr. Lancey, who had now the charge of the expedition, and of the varied outfit that Fawkner's practical mind had led him to embark for the advantage of the young colony. The names of Fawkner's party are entitled to historical record equally with those of Batman's, or even more so, when we consider that they all actually settled, at this early stage, at Port Phillip, a circumstance which, with a few exceptions, was not the case with the others. The party consisted of seven, namely, Captain Lancey, George Evans, Evan Evans, Robert Hay Marr, W. Jackson, a blacksmith named James, and a ploughman named Wyse.

Port Phillip colonization was no new idea at this time in Van Diemen's Land. We have seen that Batman contemplated the subject eight years previously, with the prospect of assistance in his plans from Mr. Gellibrand. The latter was a legal gentleman in good position at Hobart Town, and seems to have been both the most zealous and the most influential of all his fellow-colonists in promoting emigration to Port Phillip. To this zeal and enthusiasm for the new country, indeed, he afterwards forfeited his life; for proceeding into the western interior in the year 1836, accompanied by his friend Mr. Hesse, and tempted to go further and further by the spectacle of boundless pastures, the two adventurous travellers either perished from hunger, or more probably, and in accordance with subsequent report, they were killed by the aborigines. Gellibrand's Point still marks the entrance to Hobson's Bay, while Mounts Gellibrand and Hesse, two adjacent hills near the Colac district, to the westward of Geelong, commemorate still the unfortunate journey of the two friends.

Van Diemen's Land in 1835.

This magnificent pasturage of the Port Phillip district was indeed the explanation of the excitement in Van Diemen's Land. The grassy plains and the open forest—so open that the surface was still carpeted with grass—formed a characteristic feature of Australia, that did not extend into Van Diemen's Land. There the scant area of natural pasturage was already fully occupied, and it was the necessities of the future with its increase of the flocks and herds that mainly drove the colonists across Bass's Strait. In the year 1827, when Batman and Gellibrand were first revolving Port Phillip colonization, this necessity was not of a pressing nature; but in 1835 there were 800,000 sheep in the island, and no subsistence for a larger number except at such increase of cost for artificial food as, it was thought, the sheep farming of the day would not remunerate. Hence many eyes, besides those of Fawkner and his friends, followed Batman's movements in his first expedition; and when he returned to describe an ocean of grass that lay unused across the straits, there was a general disposition to follow in his footsteps.

Mr. J. Aitkin.

The "Enterprise" was again upon her course on the 4th August. She was accompanied by a small schooner, the "Endeavour," which had been equipped by the late Mr. John Aitkin, a sheep farmer of the colony, who was resolved to inspect the new world for himself. He had started with the "Enterprise," had been stormbound with her at Georgetown, and now put to sea at the same time, and arrived with her at Port Phillip, where he was one of the earliest and most successful of the squatting magnates of the great colony he assisted to found.

A course was made by the "Enterprise," in the

first instance, for Western Port, Phillip Island being reached on the 7th August. The Western Port entrance was examined with a view to settlement in this quarter; but as it was not of inviting appearance, Western Port was abandoned on the 15th, and Port Phillip entered the next day. Sailing along the eastern shore, the bar at the mouth of the Yarra was reached on the 20th, and the party were engaged until the 29th in sounding and beaconing the river. They then ascended the Yarra, taking at first its minor branch, the Salt Water River, as it seemed to be the largest and straightest tributary; but returning, they ascended the main stream for about eight miles in all, and arrived at a part of the river where it expanded naturally into a small basin. The basin was immediately below a slight fall in the river, caused by a ledge of rocks that ran a short way from the north side into the stream, and that, by the direction it gave to the force of the water, appeared to have been the cause of the excavation of the basin. Charmed by this scenery, whose beauties were enhanced by the undulating character of the grassy and open forest country of the northern bank, the party came to an anchor under some trees just below the falls.*

Fawkner's Party at Port Phillip, 16th Aug.

* The following is one amongst other instances of the want of an authoritative record of these early and now, to all Victorian colonists, most interesting proceedings:—In the (Melbourne) "Age," of 28th March, 1862 a writer, "J. H. M.," asserts, amidst much other detail that seems to be correct, and that shows him to be versed in his subject, that the "Enterprise" made, in the first instance, direct for the site of Williamstown, at the head of Port Phillip; but that the party being there unfavourably impressed, they turned back and explored Western Port; whence, being again disappointed, they returned to Port Phillip, and proceeded up the Yarra. This account is not in accordance with the records preserved by

Occupy Site of Melbourne.

This action fixed the position of Melbourne. Fawkner, although absent, was a chief party to the business, as his instructions were that a settlement should be formed only where there was fresh water. Batman, in the course of his previous tour, in the month of June, from Geelong to the Merri Creek, had evidently noticed this spot, for in his journal he records, speaking of the Yarra—"I am glad to state that about six miles up found the river all fresh water, and very deep. This will be the place for a village." But he went back to Indented Head, and only reappeared at the future capital to share the good things with Fawkner's people, and to keep them in check upon what he still claimed as the Association's territory.

First cultivation there.

The "Enterprise" cast forth upon nature's wharf the first of many cargoes that have since been landed at and around the same busy spot. Fawkner had sent much household goods, two horses, several ploughs, a great variety of seeds, and 2500 fruit trees. The spring season was already coming upon the party, and they were forthwith at work, building, ploughing, and planting. Fawkner himself arrived on the 10th October, and infused fresh stimulus into the work. A month previously his people had planted with wheat five acres of land that form now the south-western extremity of Melbourne. Afterwards, when Batman's party obliged him to transfer his labours from this spot, he crossed

Fawkner, nor with other published evidence. Fawkner himself refutes it (the "Age," 8th April), as well as disparaging assertions in the letter to the effect that he was not the originator of the expedition of the "Enterprise." The "Father of Melbourne" is not always his own best advocate. He is generally so rough when he assumes the vindicatory pen against any of his now large and miscellaneous family who may run counter to the paternal grain, that he is apt to diminish the weight of his own merits and valuable testimony.

with his implements to the south side of the river, where the low flat ground was ploughed up, leaving the furrow marks visible even to the present day in those few and isolated spots that have escaped a still deeper ploughing from the roads, railroads, and other signs of advance and change since that time. His party first settled themselves upon a pretty knoll, green with its fresh grass, and covered with a little forest of shea-oak trees. There they marked out the ground eastwards and northwards into ten-acre sections for distribution amongst the party. After a while there was a remove a little further up the river to the bank opposite the basin, and just behind the custom-house in the present Market-square of the city, where Fawkner opened a public-house and hotel. Mr. Jackson, and others of the party, moved inwards, where they selected tracts of pasturage, and afterwards transported their flocks from Van Diemen's Land. Those who settled there were, however, not so well off as those who went further on, and were subsequently less disturbed.

Disagreements between Batman and Fawkner.

The "Enterprise," although turning to the eastern coast of the bay, which was the opposite side from Indented Head, had been seen by Batman's party, as already related, and some of the Sydney blacks were set to watch the doings of the intruders. Fawkner's account is that these blacks having brought word to Indented Head as to the spot where the "Enterprise's" party had settled themselves, Mr. Wedge, one of Batman's Association, proceeded to the place, and ordered the intruders off the ground, as the place they had occupied was within the limits of the Association's land, purchased from the aborigines. Mr. Wedge, on the other hand, states* that being over on a Port

Mr. J. H. Wedge.

* Bonwick's "Port Phillip," chap. v.

Phillip visit about this time, and roaming over territories in which he hoped he had more than an ordinary interest, he came unexpectedly upon the little "Enterprise," lying at anchor in the Yarra basin, and conveying a charming effect, as if he had come all at once upon an unknown settlement. But, doubtless, the romance of the case was one thing, and the assertion of the Association's supposed rights another. The intruders, however, were deaf as before; nor were they any further convinced when Henry, the brother of John Batman, arrived also, accompanied by several men and a variety of stores, for the purpose of effecting a settlement nearer "the enemy."

Batman removes to Melbourne.

Finally, in the month of November, Batman himself arrived with the remainder of his party and their effects, settling himself permanently on the slope of the green hill that has since borne his name, the place that Fawkner's people had occupied shortly before. Here Batman opened that great colonial requisite, "a general store," while Fawkner, a little further eastward, administered his public-house. The times grew stirring and prosperous, and there was proportionately an ambitious rivalry between the two patriarchs regarding their respective merits as the conjoint founders of so promising a settlement. In other respects, both the parties were placed much upon a level as to rights and privileges by the effect of a proclamation issued by the Sydney Government, dated the 26th August, 1835, claiming all the territory in dispute, and declaring all bargaining with the natives for land to be illegal. The mutual bickerings gradually lost their soreness of edge in the busy realities of profitable industry.

CHAPTER IV.

WILLIAM BUCKLEY, AN EPISODE OF AUSTRALIAN HISTORY, 1803—1835; 1835—1856.

Buckley a Prisoner under Collins, 1803—Absconds with two comrades—Journey round Port Phillip—Great sufferings—His comrades leave him to return; never again heard of—Buckley's long solitude—Found by a Native Tribe—Their Superstition in his favour—Australian Savage-life—A native wife—Loses accurate note of time—Some casual visitors to Port Phillip, but never met by Buckley—He gives up hope of deliverance—Report from natives of white men (Batman's Party) and a ship at Indented Head—Buckley at last meets his countrymen—His strange sensations—Learns that thirty-two years have passed since he absconded—Enters Batman's service—Mediates with the natives—Receives his pardon—Annoyances of his new life—Settles at Hobart Town—Is pensioned—Marries—Death, in 1856.

Buckley thirty-two years with natives.

THE reader's attention must now be directed to an episode in the history of the Port Phillip settlement, which increases in interest with every year of the growth of Victoria, and must ever form a romantic retrospect for its busy population. We have already alluded to the long interval that elapsed between Collins and Batman. During all this space of more than a generation, one of our countrymen had been wandering with the aborigines in the vicinities of Port Phillip, and, after thirty-two years, presented himself to Batman's party at Indented Head. His name was

William Buckley. He had been one of the prisoners under charge of Collins, and had effected his escape into the bush prior to Collins' departure. He had, doubtless, been long forgotten when he reappeared in the year 1835, with the unwonted prestige of such remarkable antecedents. He seems to have all but despaired of again seeing his countrymen, and had lost all reckoning of time's long roll since he and they had parted company. The marks of age and infirmity upon himself warned him that many years had passed away, and latterly he had scarce any other hope than to live and die amongst the savage aborigines.

Morrill's like case in Queensland.

Another incident of the same kind only lately transpired in another part of Australia, brought to light in the same interesting way by the progress of our colonizing enterprise. An English seaman, named Morrill, had been shipwrecked on the north-eastern coast, a little beyond the newly-settled country of Port Denison in Queensland. This mishap occurred in the year 1846, and for seventeen years Morrill had been living with the native tribes in that neighbourhood, until the wave of colonization had at length reached him, and brought his deliverance.

Buckley a convict, 1803.

Buckley was a soldier, and having committed some minor offence, received a summary sentence, the nature or merits of which, he says, he never understood, further than that the affair was in consonance with the procedure generally in what he calls those "high hand days" with poor soldiers and sailors. The design of the Government of forming a new penal settlement on the shores of the newly-discovered Port Phillip, came opportunely to Buckley, as he was of a rather restless disposition. He was enrolled as one of the

prisoners, but had the position of servant to the Governor.

He tells us* that the two vessels appointed for the convicts, the "Calcutta" and the "Ocean," left England on the 24th April, 1803, and entered Port Phillip, the "Ocean" on the 7th, and the "Calcutta" on the 9th October following. The ships turned eastwards after entering the harbour, in the direction of Arthur Seat, near which they came to anchor, the whole party landing and forming a settlement.

Absconds with two others.

Buckley's unsettled disposition gave him a longing for liberty. With three other prisoners he projected a plan of escape. As the fugitives passed out from the camp bounds, one of them was shot by the sentry on duty; the others, including Buckley, disappeared into the unknown wilderness. Amongst the three who were now at large, they mustered some rations, a gun, several tin pots, and a kettle. The last commodity was found rather heavy, and was, therefore, thrown away at the end of the first day's journey—a circumstance not without interest, as the kettle was again found many years after by a party of colonists while clearing ground for agricultural purposes.

Journey round Port Phillip.

The party directed their course along the east coast of Port Phillip. The day of their flight was the 27th December, the middle of the southern summer. Toil-

* His Life, edited by Morgan, published at Hobart Town in 1852. This little work, which I have perused more than once, seems to carry the evidence of truthfulness in its remarkable account of so long a residence amongst the aborigines. Mr. Bonwick is less favourable in his criticism, and cites some errors of statement in affairs after Buckley joined the colonists. Mr. Morgan has, doubtless, dressed up somewhat the utterances of poor, stupid old Buckley, whose genius was never, perhaps, greatly above the level of that of his aboriginal companions.

ing over a dreary solitude they seem to have crossed the river Yarra, rounded the head of the harbour, and traversed the plains westward to the Yowang Hills, or Station Peak range of Flinders. From thence, impelled by hunger, they descended to the sea-coast of Geelong Harbour, in the hope of procuring at least a supply of shell-fish. With precarious supplies of this kind they passed round to Indented Head, and from Swan Island took a view of the ship "Calcutta," as she lay at anchor on the opposite side of the harbour. Worn out with fatigue and starvation, all the party would fain at that time have returned to their bondage, and accordingly they made repeated but vain attempts to attract the notice of those on board the ship. Once, indeed, it seemed as though they had been seen, and their signals responded to, for a boat had started from the "Calcutta" in their direction; but after it had accomplished half the distance across the bay, it turned back. Buckley's two companions now decided to attempt a return by the way they had come. Buckley himself, however, was not to be persuaded to this course. At once cherishing liberty, and dreading punishment, he preferred remaining where he was, not, however, without a pang of grief as he reflected on his solitary position. His companions left him, but were never again seen, and must have either perished from hunger, or been killed by the natives.*

Buckley left alone.

Long solitude. Buckley, thus left alone, continued to follow the sea-coast, which took him in a southerly direction.

* Buckley showed such unwillingness to be questioned as to the fate of his two comrades, that suspicion was aroused as to a different and more horrible fate having befallen them under the cravings of hunger. But his feelings are readily accounted for under the merciless "chaffing" on the subject with which he was probably assailed.

His subsistence was almost solely on shell-fish, and as he was not always able to strike a light and enjoy a fire, he was often compelled to eat his food raw. He also suffered severely from the want of fresh water to drink. His wanderings at length brought him to a part of the coast where a stream of fresh water entered the sea. Here, perched upon a rock, he erected a hut, and having tolerable supplies of fish and shell-fish, he seems to have felt himself, comparatively speaking, well off. This stream, as he afterwards learned, was called by the natives the Karaaf. The place is still pointed out about three miles to the westward of the present delightful watering-place of Queenscliffe, the Brighton of Victoria. Thus passed Buckley's first summer, shortly after which he was seen and taken possession of by a tribe of the natives.

Found by natives.

In his new position he appears to have been treated with some consideration. These, as well as other Australian natives, had a superstitious belief that white people are persons of their own race who have come to life again after death. If such resuscitated persons are deemed to be their own friends, the tribe will treat them well. Buckley came upon the scene opportunely in this respect. A chief of the tribe with which he afterwards lived had died about the time Buckley was spending his first summer of wild independence near the Port Phillip Heads, and had been buried near Buckley's rude domicile. A piece of a native spear had been left to mark the grave. Buckley had seen and appropriated this fragment, and as he carried it in his hand, when first seen by the tribe, they joyfully hailed him as no other than their deceased chief himself come again to life. In accordance with this happy prepossession, Buckley found he was always well cared for. He

often saw himself indeed to be the subject of very ardent and earnest discussion; and on the occasion of the frequent tribal battles he was carefully secluded among the females, so as to be out of harm's way.

Native customs.

Buckley describes the frequency of these battles, which were generally of a very ferocious character, the women often joining in the strife with the men, and often too getting most of the blows that were freely dealt about. On the other hand, he tells us, these darkey "fair ones" were usually the cause of the contentions. For instance, some ardent wife-hunting youth of one tribe would succeed in carrying off a female, perhaps the wife of some member of another tribe. Sometimes the object of attraction was a frail consenting party; sometimes, as we may hope, she was not. But this alternative seems to have made but little difference in regard to the laws of native warfare. There must be a fight, and, on Sir Lucius O'Trigger's principle, one course of facts is just as good for the purpose as another.

A native wife.

Buckley, as he adhered to one tribe, gradually acquired their language, a circumstance that greatly pleased his native associates. Next he ventures to take a native wife, who, however, leaves him again after a season. At length, growing weary and disgusted, as he states, with the constant spectacle of strife and bloodshed, he retires for a time to his former solitude on the coast at the mouth of the Karaaf. While here in tolerable comfort, a young native female of the tribe he had left walks into his quarters, and, after the aboriginal fashion, sits down as his wife. He is too loyal an Australian to forbid the short and summary banns, and Mrs. Buckley and he seem to get on very amicably in the world for another interval of

time, when she too leaves him like the previous partner. Subsequently he himself is induced to rejoin the tribe. They had come down to see him at his place of abode, and he delighted them all by a method he had contrived of catching great numbers of fish.

Thus days, and months, and years rolled over. Buckley had lost all accurate note of time, but he saw that those whom he remembered as young native children had grown up to manhood, and he could thus infer that a long interval must have passed away. It is rather remarkable that more than once in this interval vessels with white people on board had appeared within the Port Phillip waters. Buckley says he longed to rejoin his people and the civilized world, and would fain have communicated with these casual and unknown visitors, but on each occasion he was disappointed. One of these vessels, while anchored off Indented Head, sent a party ashore, who, as the natives reported, buried something in the ground and then re-embarked. Buckley, hearing of this incident, and supposing that possibly something of a useful character might have been left concealed, repaired to the spot; but, on removing the earth, he ascertained that the object was the dead body of a white man. Casual white visitors.

We may suppose these visitors to have been whaling parties either from Sydney or Van Diemen's Land; or possibly, in one or two instances, escaped convicts from one or other of these places. These colonies, which, at the time of our wanderer's escape from the "Calcutta," had enjoyed but a brief existence, were now, after the many years of Buckley's seclusion, advancing to a very noticeable importance. Van Diemen's Land indeed had been founded only in the year of Buckley's absconding. During this interval

of Buckley's adventures, the island had been traversed and settled from south to north; and now at length, as we have already had occasion to mention, the colonists sought, as it were, to recross the straits, and appropriate for the use of their increasing flocks those grassy plains and open forest lands that Buckley, hitherto their solitary white occupant, had so often traversed.

Hears of Batman's Party.

The turning point in this long career at last arrives. One day two young natives are seen by Buckley and the tribe running up from the marshes near the coast, each of them waving a coloured handkerchief from the end of his spear. White men are once more at hand. The lads report that they have seen three white people and six blacks, who had all landed from a "Koorong" or ship off the coast of Indented Head, but that the ship had afterwards left them and sailed again out of the bay. Buckley, enjoying the hope of soon seeing his countrymen, prepares to set out the following day.

Meanwhile, however, he is alarmed to hear of a plan among the natives to murder all these new comers, that they may get possession of all the good things they have brought with them. For this purpose they were to invite a neighbouring tribe to give them assistance; while as to Buckley, seeing he had long been regarded as one of themselves, he too is expected, as matter of course, to aid the common cause. He, however, resolves to counteract these nefarious schemes, and setting off in the direction indicated by the youths, he arrives at the white people's encampment on the following day. This was the 12th of July, 1835.

Sets out to meet them.

But now, as he approaches the spot, as he hears the noise of the white man's industry, and soon after can distinguish the features of his countrymen, and when on the eve of realizing an event so long wished

for, new and strong emotions seize him. What is he to say or do, for he cannot recall a word of his native speech? And again the recollection comes back upon him, after more than a generation of years, that he is still a prisoner. With his restless turn of mind, and his long wandering habits, he dreads above all things restraints on his personal freedom, and in the simplicity of his mind he imagines that he would still be seized by the government, and shut up as a runaway convict. Uncertain how to act, he sits down on a spot near to where the white people are at work, and with his bundle of native implements collected between his knees, gazes at what is going on, with the look of one who seems to be either half stupid or half indifferent.

Surprise of the colonists.

Some natives who had gathered together near the colonists, first perceived Buckley, and pointed him out to his countrymen. The latter, on seeing him, were nearly as perplexed, although in a different way, as Buckley himself. They beheld a figure of extraordinary size, for he was six feet five inches high, while his light brown hue, as he appeared naked before them, showed plainly that he was no native Australian. Strangely fell the long-forgotten words of his native tongue upon his ear. At first he seemed to have no apprehension of what was said to him, and could only attempt, slowly and with difficulty, to repeat each word. One of the party, in pronouncing the word "bread," and accompanying the sound with a present of a substantial slice, seems to have produced somewhat of a talismanic effect in the vivid recall of old times and associations. He was not long in understanding other things said to him, or in making himself in turn understood. Having lost all note of time, he had a vague idea that twenty years must have elapsed since he left his convict party in

1803. He was, therefore, much surprised to learn that many more seasons had gone over his head, and that it was now already the year 1835.

His new friends were busy pitching their camp upon the elevated part of the projecting land of Indented Head. Batman, their leader, after selecting the spot, and making his grand purchase of territory, had left them in charge, with instructions to prepare a homestead against his return with his family. It was in the month of July, the winter of Australia, and it was in cold and tempestuous weather, as Buckley tells us, that he made his journey to the place. It was altogether a memorable occasion—a settlement so small in its beginning, so rapid in its course, and so great in its future.

Buckley useful with the natives.

Buckley's efforts were now for a time directed to the means of keeping the peace between his old and his new associates. At first he persuades the natives to defer their intended attack upon the intruders, suggesting that if they waited until the ship returned, there would be a vast addition to the expected plunder. Afterwards, by the promise of considerable presents, and by an occasional gift of biscuit, blankets, and other necessaries, he succeeds in changing their purpose. No doubt he has somewhat magnified the importance of the whole affair, and perhaps, too, the accounts of the strifes and turbulence of the natives generally.

Troubles of his new life.

Buckley, however, made himself useful as an interpreter and peacemaker between the colonists and the aborigines. In this capacity he entered Batman's service upon the return of the latter from Launceston with his family to settle at Indented Head; and he subsequently followed his master to the banks of the Yarra, where the party settled upon the slope of the little green hill at the western extremity of Melbourne.. Here poor

Buckley seems to have got gradually into such a hot-bed of annoyances—the cares and troubles, the envyings and jealousies ineradicable from civilized life—that we may believe he almost longed to be back again to his undisturbed wigwam at the Karaaf, or to his native tribe, where he was tended well nigh with the honours of a queen bee. He joyfully, however, records one pleasant fact of these days, which is that he received a free pardon, and was no longer in danger as a runaway or a convict. He tells us that Mr. Wedge, one of Batman's party, brought him the document elevating him to the position of a free man, given under the hand of the then Lieut.-Governor of Van Diemen's Land, Sir George Arthur, and dated the 25th August, 1835, almost thirty-two years after he had left the convict settlement.

Receives his pardon.

Batman had not encountered Buckley, nor apparently any of his tribe, at his first visit towards the end of May, when he took his excursion into the interior, and made his treaty for the Port Phillip lands. Each tribe claims an area that is peculiarly its own, within which it usually resides, or rather wanders about; but there may be tribes adjacent with whom there is more or less of a friendly disposition, so as to enable one to visit another with proper notice and ceremonial. Buckley's tribe seems to have ranged to the south and west of the Port Phillip entrance and Lake Modewarri, but they "visited" as far as Indented Head, a distance of probably twenty miles from the usual whereabouts. He had, therefore, been a little to one side of the scene of these transactions, and had no hand in the land conveyancing arrangements. Indeed, he pronounces them to have been a mere hoax, as among these natives, he says, there are "no chiefs

Counts Batman's land purchase a hoax.

claiming or possessing any superior right over the soil," their rights consisting only in their being heads of families. Fawkner and his party acted under the same view of the matter. The whole affair, indeed, savours of the grotesque, and it probably confused and weakened the claims of Batman and his Association for their very important services. Conspicuous among the Australian "chiefs" who transferred their lordly domains were the two brothers Jagga Jagga, whom Batman met at the Merri Creek. Having readily aided in handing over the right to a half million acres lying between the Merri and Geelong, Batman was fain not to lose such willing friends through any trifle about formality; and, accordingly, they too were participating parties in the additional transfer of Indented Head, a territory to which they could have no pretensions of any kind.

Let us still for a short space follow Buckley's fortunes. In so doing we catch a glimpse of the early state of the new settlement. From Batman's service our hero was promoted to be a constable, and he had the additional satisfaction to hail, in his new master, an old fellow-soldier, an officer of Buckley's own regiment. This officer was Captain Lonsdale, who arrived in the year 1836, accredited from the authorities at Sydney to take charge of the young settlement.

But Buckley seems to have soon become restive in this position, and this, too, notwithstanding, as he mentions with some triumph, that he succeeded in establishing a rise of pay of £10 a year, namely, from £50 a year, with rations, to £60. He found rebuffs and disagreeables at every turn. Not the least among these were caused by the troubles and misunderstandings with the natives. Buckley no doubt aimed to

be of consequence in this direction, by way of revenging his dignity in finding himself behind the age in other respects. As he would appropriate all guidance in native matters, so when harmony did not always or immediately result, poor Buckley came in for all the blame, and was plentifully accused of indifference or double-dealing. Batman took his part in these disputes; but as the two chiefs of the settlement were at incurable feud, and now more especially, since they had settled close to one another, whenever Batman befriended, Fawkner was sure to oppose; so that Buckley, completely worried out of his peace and comfort between the two hostile parties, bethought himself of making off for a quieter home.

Outrages between natives and colonists.

One great cause of his distress, and it was a most legitimate and creditable cause, was the mutual illwill and misunderstanding that were daily extending between the colonists and the natives. The former, pouring in one after another with their flocks, rushed away with hot haste into the interior, anxious to secure a share of the fine pastures lying still unoccupied, and ready at nature's hand for immediate use. It was Buckley's earnest wish that the poor natives, whose territories were thus summarily disposed of over their heads, should be approached with consideration on the subject, and with a patient effort to gain their consent and good will; and he thought that he might himself have been successful in dealing with them. But as all such preliminaries seemed mere waste of time to our eager and competing colonists, there was a lamentable result between them and the natives in constant mutual distrust, frequent hostilities, and repeated atrocities on either side. Many of the poor natives were shot down, as though little better than so

much game; and we fear too that there were many more such cases than were ever heard of, or made the subject of any inquiry. Nor were the natives in their turn unconcerned with the lawless category. They stole sheep and murdered shepherds as often as their fewer means and opportunities gave them the power; and Messrs. Gellibrand and Hesse, who were most probably among their victims, may be considered to have paid the penalty of their disorderly countrymen.

Buckley settles at Hobart Town.

At length Buckley made up his mind to leave Port Phillip, for he was thoroughly wearied of the life he had latterly been leading. He had seen the little colony, however, fairly started on the road to greatness. Sir Richard Bourke, the Governor of New South Wales, had visited it in the year 1837, and had given his sanction to the selection and naming of Melbourne and Geelong. As to those spacious solitudes that had so long been familiar to him their day was rapidly passing away, and now he bade final adieu to the changed and busy scenes which they presented. He directed his steps to Hobart Town, where he received employment for a time from the Van Diemen's Land Government, and where too he married a wife—not this time, however, a native one. When the infirmities of age came upon him that government allowed him a pension, a sadly poor one, when we regard his interesting antecedents, of £12 a year, to which however £40 was afterwards added by the Government at Melbourne, when the Port Phillip district was separated from New South Wales, and became the colony of Victoria.

His appearance, and death, 1856.

The author met Buckley in the streets of Hobart Town in the year 1852, seventeen years after he had emerged from his barbarous solitude. He was then seventy-two years of age, and looking marvellously

well, particularly for one of his rough experiences. He was a man of few words and apparently still fewer ideas, but of remarkable appearance from his great stature, a quality that had given him consideration with the natives, and was thus probably the cause of preserving his life amongst them. He died at Hobart Town, on the 2nd of February, 1856. He had lived to see the greatness of the land of his many wanderings, as he survived for several years the event of the gold discovery; and we can hardly be satisfied that he should have received so little of the fruits of this greatness.

CHAPTER V.

AUSTRALIA FELIX.—1836.

Mitchell's attractive description of "Australia Felix"—His journey in 1836—Fine country between the Rivers Murray and Glenelg—Surprise at coming upon a settlement at Portland Bay—Messrs. Henty established there two years—Their claims unrecognized—Mitchell's return—Mount William and the Grampians—Mount Macedon, Port Phillip, and Mount Alexander—Warlike associations, and peaceful realities—Australia Felix superseded by the name of Victoria.

Mitchell's Expedition, 1836.

THE Port Phillip settlement, at an early period of its history, received an extraordinary impulse from a new cause that brought into the place a tide of colonists from the mother country, in addition to the streams from the adjacent colonies. This new cause was the expedition of the late Sir Thomas Mitchell, the surveyor-general of New South Wales, into the Port Phillip district in the year 1836. An unusual spirit of emigration had shown itself at home about this time, of which one of the conspicuous effects was the establishment of the colony of South Australia. Australia had just begun to attract general attention. Its bright skies were compared with our cloud-capped home atmosphere, and its fine wool was bringing such high prices in England that its colonists were reputed to enjoy that hitherto impossible combination of the simplicities of pastoral solitude with the fabulous profits of the crowded busi-

ness world. Upon this state of feeling at home, Mitchell's description of Australia Felix descended like the vision of a fairy tale. Port Phillip became the "rage" of the time; and during an active interval of several years, many thousands emigrated to its shores, carrying with them a large amount of capital, and, what was still better, introducing into the young settlement an excellent nucleus of British society.

Object of the journey.

The original object of Mitchell's expedition was the completion of the survey of the River Darling, already about eight years previously discovered by Capt. Sturt. Having carried out his official instructions, to trace the Darling into the Murray, and to ascend the latter river towards where it approached nearest to Yass Plains, the surveyor-general turned his steps to the south, to explore the tempting and promising expanse that lay before him in that direction. This was a region that seemed almost forgotten by the colonists of the north, since the expedition of Hume and Hovell, twelve years before, until restored to memory and fame just the year previous by the inroad of Batman and Fawkner upon its southern harbour, Port Phillip.

Reaches the river Darling.

Setting out in March, Mitchell reached the Darling in May. Hereabouts his party were surrounded and threatened by swarms of the aborigines; but having succeeded in driving them off at a place which was appropriately named Mount Dispersion, the expedition made for the Murray, which was thence but a short way off, and which they found to be a noble river, one hundred and sixty-five yards wide. Following the north bank upwards to the junction with the Murrumbidgee, the party then crossed the Murray, and pursued their course up the left or southern bank. They passed a tributary fifty yards wide, which Mitchell took to be

The Loddon.

the Hovell, but which has been since found to be the lower part of the Loddon. Proceeding upwards till the 29th June, they then quitted the Murray in a southerly direction, at a part of its course between the Loddon and the Campaspé, where it was found to be still ninety-nine yards wide.

Scenery of Australia Felix.

A most promising country now extended itself before the travellers. The time of the year was highly favourable to scenic effect, for it was in the cool weather of mid-winter, with the usual moisture and verdure of that season. The river Yarraine was passed, and afterwards the Loddon, both being the same river, and identical with the supposed Hovell. The Pyrenees hills were next passed, as well as the striking range of the Grampians, much loftier and of even bolder outline than their classic prototypes of North Britain. In the far west, the party came upon the considerable river Glenelg, which was observed to be one hundred and twenty feet wide and twenty feet deep. Embarking on this river, the explorer sailed down the stream to its junction with the southern ocean, where he met the disappointment so often given by Australian rivers, in finding that the mouth was closed to navigation by a bar.

A surprise at Portland Bay.

A surprise of a less disappointing nature awaited the explorers shortly after their arrival at the sea-coast. Approaching Portland Bay, a little to the eastward of Glenelg, they were agreeably astonished by the appearance of houses in the distance, and soon after, as the Bay opened upon them, by seeing a small vessel at anchor in its quiet waters. Presently they arrive at the farming settlements of the Messrs. Henty. There is a curious contrast of these times, not yet thirty years gone by, with the present day of mails, railways, and telegraphs, in the fact that Mitchell was quite unaware

of his new friends having been for two years settled in this remote region. The latter gave substantial evidence of their industry during that interval, by supplying the hungry travellers with the acceptable produce of an adjacent garden. There was a considerable business in whaling at this place, and also in the importation of sheep, the property of the Henty family, whose flocks, transported from Van Diemen's Land, were spread over the fine pastoral country of the neighbouring interior.

Mr. Thomas Henty.

This settlement at Portland Bay, effected by the late Mr. Thomas Henty, of Launceston, the father of the gentlemen just alluded to, as early as the year 1834, is, as we have already noticed, the earliest instance of colonization, of a permanent character, made within the boundaries of Victoria. Mr. Henty had despatched several flocks of sheep, together with implements of agriculture, under the care of a detachment of his large family; for he had no less than seven sons, who have all since attained to prominent social or political position in the one or the other colony. The country around Portland was well adapted for both pasture and agriculture, and a scene that so lately presented but an empty solitude had thus been soon transformed into a lively spectacle of industry and progress.

Henty's claims overlooked.

Henty, like Batman and his company, claimed a grant of the country he had thus settled, and with all the better argument from his having thus turned the land to such good account. But so fair a claim (and regretfully one must state the fact) was refused by Lord Aberdeen, then Secretary for the Colonies. His lordship, however, gave a very distinct hint that such lands as were actually in cultivation, and properly fenced in, might form a case for special and favourable consideration. But this hint, even to the limited

extent to which it applied, was not regarded by the Colonial Government when the lands in this locality were afterwards disposed of; and it is almost painful to have to record, in connection with such courageous and useful enterprise, that Mr. Henty and his family acquired no advantage beyond others upon the scene of their successful pioneering.*

Returning to Mitchell, his homeward journey was considerably retarded by the moist condition of the fine rich soil of the Portland Bay country. Repassing the Grampians, he ascertained that Mount William, the culminating height of the range, had an elevation of 4500 feet above the sea level. So intense was the cold during a night that the party had to spend within this lofty mountain range, that two of their number sustained permanent injury in consequence.

Mount William, and

The Grampian Range.

The author may here remark that he was himself benighted in the same romantic resting-place on one occasion just eight years afterwards. He spent a mid-winter night far within the southern part of the range, into which he had unwittingly strayed towards evening by following the "split stuff" track (the settlers' track to a forest of fair-splitting timber, in use for fencing purposes) in mistake for the road to a pastoral station. There was a discomfort in being alone in such a place, for at that early time there were but a few pastoral stations thereabouts, and no inhabitants for many miles around, except some wild and usually hostile aborigines; but the position was all the more favourable for realizing the gigantic scale and the silent and solitary grandeur of nature. Emerging from the mountain heights upon a bright and genial June morning, and descending upon the fine pastoral plains to the southward, after a further

* M'Combie's "History of Victoria." Melbourne, 1859, p. 21.

hour or two's ride, impelled by thirty hours of fasting, the author reached the sheep station of Dr. Martin. This pleasant change of scene, and the effect of its repose and plenty, enhanced by the ever ready hospitality of "the bush" in those days, formed a most enjoyable contrast, which is still fresh in his recollection after twenty years' interval.

Mitchell's return.

Let us return to our party. Traversing again a beautiful country, but somewhat to the southward of the outward route, Mitchell ascended Mount Macedon, from whose now well-known height he obtained a commanding view of the country to the south, with the waters of Port Phillip in the far distance beyond. Before him ascended the curling smoke that indicated here and there, although still at wide intervals over the expanded scene, the life and industry of the young settlement.

Taking thence a more northerly course, he crossed successively the Goulburn and the Murray. The party had now exhausted their provisions, and it was with no small joy that they perceived at length before them the line of dark umbrageous trees which they recognized as the characteristic feature of the banks of the Murrumbidgee. In their hungry condition they are delighted to see here the herds of cattle quietly grazing before them; and their troubles are terminated by a spectacle of still more immediate enjoyment, for they come upon one of the pastoral homesteads, where a venerable-looking old man appears before them in the very act of brushing the ashes from a large "damper" which he had just baked.*

Natives met with.

During his journey Mitchell frequently encountered the aborigines, who were much more numerous through-

* "Flanagan's New South Wales," vol. i. p. 505.

out his route at that time than, unhappily for them, is the case now. Those of the Murray were not only numerous, but had some pretensions to a relative superiority. In one of the lakes near the bank of the river they were seen sailing about in a number of canoes; and in another place they exhibited nets so well made as to resemble the manufacture of Europe.

Military names bestowed.

Over the country thus traversed, our explorer's traces still linger abundantly in the names he bestowed on some of the most conspicuous of its scenes and objects. Sir Thomas was a soldier, and he has largely infused the military element in our Victorian nomenclature. Perhaps he himself anticipated at the time, as we may now do with more assurance, the peaceful and smiling future that would so pleasantly contrast with the stern associations he had evoked—the day when his Pyrenees of the South would look down only upon troops of sheep, and when Mount Macedon and Mount Alexander would survey armies of reapers and vine-gatherers sallying forth to the yearly spoils of harvest. The last-mentioned place has since been the hero of a history of its own, and has reinstated the Macedonian conqueror's title of Great in a new field and under a new aspect; for it was the voice sent from the Mount Alexander gold-fields that first awoke the strong responsive echoes of the outside world, and originated that inpouring tide of life that has since so rapidly advanced the colony.

Mount Macedon, Mount Alexander.

Name of Australia Felix.

Again, Mitchell's designation of Australia Felix is a happy compliment to the beautiful scenery he met with in almost continuous succession throughout his journey. The name in its distinctive superiorities and inspiring associations was not without influence in com-

manding attention to the country; nor were these advantageous qualities unappreciated by the colonists in the rivalry of progress. Australia Felix, as a name, did, at that time, bid fair to assume a permanent position, in spite of some poetic and imaginative halo that might be supposed to encircle it, and detach it from a matter-of-fact world. It would, doubtless, in time have supplanted the inconvenient and commonplace "District of Port Phillip," as well as its confusing abbreviation, "Port Phillip." But the later appellation of Victoria seems to have altogether thrust even Australia Felix out of its once probable destiny. It is not now even an occasional alternative, and has latterly disappeared in the official maps, even from the comparatively restricted area within which it was originally comprised by Mitchell. Our colonists, having secured one highly auspicious name, seem not to be troubled to keep up another, notwithstanding its independent associations and all its poetry.

Superseded by Victoria.

Perhaps this is only the usual fate of poetic and romantic leanings in the practical colonial world. Such associations of the merely ideal are elbowed off at every rough turn of life's realities; they are shunted into invisible corners in the busy railway existence around us. Let us protest somewhat against this Vandal utilitarianism. Mr. Mill will join our opposition; for he has presented the great modern tendency in a right genial garb, that may embrace all that is edifying and pleasant, as well as practically good to humanity, and that would not deny a place for the ideas in question, outside, as they may seem to be, of business and progress. At all events, I have attempted my part in the cause, by dedicating a chapter to the memory and associations of AUSTRALIA FELIX.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PORT PHILLIP SETTLEMENT. 1835—1843.

Port Phillip and New South Wales—Early population and commerce—Survey of Port Phillip—Governor's visit, 1837—Land sales and speculations—Towns and counties—First newspaper, 1835—Mr. La Trobe, superintendent, 1839—The River Yarra Yarra, and the site of Melbourne—Defects of plan—Subsequent improvements.

Port Phillip, part of New South Wales.

As the Van Diemen's Land colonists had founded the Port Phillip settlement, they naturally wished to preserve the connection with the country and Government they had left. The Governor, Sir George Arthur, had shown a warm interest in this colonizing enterprise of his people, and he had every disposition to promote their objects to the furthest permissible verge of rules or instructions. The new home was, indeed, somewhat removed from the old, for between the Tamar Heads to the south, and the Port Phillip Heads to the north, there were 190 miles of water. But, on the other hand, Sydney was still further removed, whether compared by the six hundred miles of sea voyage, or the far more arduous and almost equally long line of overland communication. Governor Arthur was understood to be quite as willing as his colonists that Port Phillip should be added to his jurisdiction.

But we have already seen how clearly the Home Government laid down to the Port Phillippians their

geographical and political relations. Their country formed a part of New South Wales, and they were, therefore, placed under the authorities at Sydney. They did not constitute a colony, but a settlement within a colony. They and their settlement were comprised within that vast area that formed the original New South Wales, embracing the eastern and much the larger moiety of Australia lying to the eastward of 129° of east longitude.

New South Wales, how subdivided since.

Let us digress, for a moment, to follow the fate of this great territory. Already, by the establishment by Act of Parliament in 1834, of the colony of South Australia, a large section had been detached towards the western side. The Port Phillip settlement itself followed in later years on the south side; and still later, in 1859, there is a third rending to the north on behalf of Queensland. New South Wales was thus left in two detached fragments; one the comparatively circumscribed area around Sydney, the other the large northern and central tract lately explored and traversed by Stuart. The latest change has been the transfer of this outlying region to the colony of South Australia, which has so greatly contributed to make it known, and to whose northern boundary it is contiguous. New South Wales, which has still an area of more than 320,000 square miles, or nearly that of the British Islands and France, has not yet given up the spirit of division, for the south-western territory, comprising about half of the entire area, has been lately declaring for separation, of which we may have occasion to speak further on.

First Census of Port Phillip.

To return to our subject, additional numbers arrived from Van Diemen's Land, and a first census of colonists made on May 25, 1836, gave the population as 177 persons, comprising 142 males and 35 females. This

census was taken at the instance of Mr. Stewart, a magistrate of New South Wales, who had at that early time been sent by the Governor to report upon the state of affairs at Port Phillip.

First live stock imported.

A trade with the new country promptly followed from Van Diemen's Land. The first importation of live stock into Port Phillip was from that colony, and it took place within less than six months of Batman's first visit. On 10th November, 1835, the small vessel, the "Norval," landed the first of the flocks and herds, consisting of fifty pure Hereford cows and five hundred sheep. Many more like importations quickly succeeded, and in the following year the inpouring tide was largely augmented as to both population and live stock by the "overlanders" from the Sydney district, where every one seemed now thoroughly alive to the merits of the long-neglected Port Phillip.*

Mr. James Simpson.

We have seen that in this second year of the settlement, Captain Lonsdale had arrived at Port Phillip, charged by the authorities at Sydney with the care of the young community. This was on the 29th September, 1836. Prior to that time the colonists had had recourse to certain law and order arrangements among themselves. Their first magistrate in this democratic interlude was the late Mr. James Simpson, a highly-respected fellow-colonist, long afterwards familiar in magisterial office, and deservedly conspicuous amongst the "conscript fathers" of the young republic.

* The first overlander was Mr. John Gardiner. Setting off from the River Murrumbidgee towards the end of 1835, accompanied by Messrs. Hovell and Hepburn, he conducted a herd of cattle to the Yarra in the short space of three weeks. Messrs. Ryrie, Ebden, and other early and well-known colonists, followed soon after, and the journey that immortalized Hume and Hovell soon became an everyday occurrence.

In this year, too, the harbour was surveyed by Lieutenant Hobson, R.N., in H.M.S. "Rattlesnake," the vessel that had brought Captain Lonsdale to the seat of his authority. The well-known Hobson's Bay, at the northern extremity of Port Phillip, is named from this officer. The channel of entrance to Port Phillip is by no means easy of navigation; nevertheless, by the aid of surveys and pilots, from these days until now, few marine tracks have been supposed more thoroughly known. We shall allude at this place to a remarkable circumstance with regard to this channel, which occurred quite recently, and which is apt to unsettle our comfortable notions about the proverbial safety of well-beaten tracks.

Port Phillip surveyed.

In the month of December, 1862, the ship "Lightning," while sailing out from the Heads, in the usual mid-channel course, experienced a sudden shock, which was wholly inexplicable to all on board, pilot as well as crew and colonists. That this incident could have been caused by any rock, so near to the surface, and in that oft traversed line of the narrow channel, was deemed at the time to be impossible. Nevertheless, a subsequent careful inspection resulted in showing the existence not merely of the one rock on which the "Lightning" had struck, but of two others adjacent, which, although remoter from the surface than the first, might yet be accounted dangerous.

Rocks in the entrance way.

These dangerous patches of rock are situated rather to the eastward of the fairway, so that the safe route for the larger vessels is made by "keeping them well to the western shore." The depth of water over the rocks is sixteen, twenty-four, and twenty-nine feet respectively. All three are in fact almost in the central line of a narrow strait, which for the last quarter of a century has been thronged by thousands of

ships, of large as well as small dimensions, passing and repassing with the merchandise and people of all nations.*

Sandbanks inside.

The natural features of the Port Phillip entrance are somewhat interesting. They were partly examined by Flinders, who remarked the seething appearance of the water, attributable to the strong ebb and flow of the tide through so comparatively narrow a channel, and over a very irregular ground, having from six to twelve fathoms of water. Completer surveys have since laid down a series of sand-banks, occupying ten or twelve miles of the harbour, and traversed by several navigable channels, now all familiar to our navigation. These extensive banks are the accumulated deposit derived from the successive tidal flood, whose agitated current, charged with the sands of the outer sea, deposits its daily burden in the tranquil expanse of the inner waters. It seems not impossible to make some approximate estimate of the rate of this progressive deposit, and to apply this estimate to the past. Has the sea intruded upon a fresh-water lake? A series of borings might furnish interesting data on the subject, and allow of some calculation as to when the present conditions began, and the outer ocean had broken through the narrow neck of land that probably once separated its waters from the inner basin.

Governor Bourke's visit, 1837.

The fame of Port Phillip is extending. Sir Richard Bourke, the governor at Sydney, resolves to visit the busy scene of his new and far distant subjects, and he carries out his purpose in the month of March, 1837. The Sydney authorities were not indifferent to the fortunes of their southern settlement, and the Sydney merchants and speculators took up an interest of a

* These rocks are now being removed by blasting.

different kind. While the former were considering as to the people, the latter pondered over the land allotments, that were presently "in the market" after the governor's visit.

The first sale of Melbourne allotments took place at the township, on the 1st of June, 1837. The prices were decidedly low—wonderfully so indeed, considering the rising repute of the settlement. One of the regulations of the occasion, to the effect that all purchases must be paid for in gold, is said to have greatly damped speculative ardour, as indeed such regulations generally do, and also to have operated greatly in favour of the Sydney purchasers. The prices of the first sale averaged about £35 per half acre lot; and those of the second sale, which took place in November following, about £42; but within two years some of these lots were resold at several thousand pounds each. Stories are told of cautious hesitation even at these moderate first prices. One purchaser of a lot in a central part of Collins' Street West, afterwards a principal thoroughfare of the town, conceiving the £80 he had bid to be too much for a half-acre of grass sward, was content to extricate himself by forfeiting his £8 of deposit. The lot was consequently resold to some bolder spirit for the balance of £72; and within two years it was valued at £5000. I have heard that since the gold discovery the same half-acre has been re-disposed of for £40,000. The names of Sydney purchasers appear largely on the original maps and crown conveyances of these early days; and a good many fortunes, or substantial accessions to fortunes, both at Sydney and Port Phillip, date from this opening of the Port Phillip land-market.

Prices of land allotments.

The Governor, who found already the rudiments of

Towns, counties, districts.

a town at Melbourne, confirmed the selection of that site for the capital, and named it in honour of the British premier of the day. His surveyors had already laid out Melbourne, as well as two other towns, Geelong and Portland, together with three counties which were defined respectively around these towns, namely, Bourke, Grant, and Normanby. These three earliest counties were supplemented by many others in 1848, when the colony assumed in this territorial respect the position it has since held. It now consists of twenty-four counties, which embrace generally the countries nearest to the sea, and therefore supposed to be of most value; and of three great inland pastoral districts, the Wimmera, the Loddon, and the Murray.

Fawkner's useful career.

Although in this successful launch of the Port Phillip settlement, Batman stands before Fawkner in point of time, and no doubt also in respect to the origination of the enterprise, yet the practical mind of the latter soon placed him in the front as the most efficient pioneer of the young settlement. We have seen how he had provided for the ploughing, sowing, and planting of the new soil. The early colonists are dealing with Fawkner for his Port Phillip wheat ere the first summer has passed over their heads. He did not, however, confine his energies to this vocation. With a disposition for more general enterprise, he took a conspicuous part in most colonial affairs. Owing nothing to social position and its amenities, he marked out with ready originality a course of his own, which, while often rough handed, was generally useful and not seldom creditably disinterested.

Earliest newspaper, 1838.

In these early days, while yet busy with his hotel, he undertook that indispensable companion, guide, and follower of colonial society, a newspaper. Shortly

afterwards he laid out a large garden upon his property a few miles to the north of Melbourne; called Pascovale, where are still to be seen some of the oldest vines of the colony.

Fawkner's newspaper was a curiosity of its kind, besides being the first that was published in the place. It was the beginning of an interest whose magnitude and literary position in our present Victoria are already one of the marvels of the colonial empire. "The Melbourne Advertiser," as this originating member of the colony's fourth estate was called, commenced with the New Year's Day of 1838, and as a weekly publication. The case is none the less interesting, that the earlier numbers were necessarily in manuscript; for such articles as a press and types seemed not yet to have been thought of by the outer world as likely to be amongst the wants of the young settlement.

A rival sheet.

But after an issue of nine of these primitive-looking weekly documents, a few types and an old press were procured, and the "Advertiser" appeared with some approach to more usual newspaper aspects. Fawkner however had been transgressing the press laws, and very stringent they were in those days of poor penal Australia. He was therefore ordered to suspend his publication until he had entered into the requisite suretyship. As this could at that time be done only at Sydney, Fawkner had to wait until, by a change of the colonial law promised to Port Phillip, the arrangements could be made at Melbourne. Meanwhile a literary rival, the "Port Phillip Gazette," entered the field, the proprietors, Messrs. Arden and Strode, having supplied the requisite securities at Sydney. This new broadsheet appeared on the 27th October, 1838. Fawkner was unable to show himself again until the 16th February of

the following year, when his paper came forth under the new and auspicious title of the "Port Phillip Patriot." Still we may hold him father of the colony's press, as well as of its capital city. When reminded many times more than once by the "Gazette" that it was the first legal paper, Fawkner might have reposed in his kingship *de facto*, leaving to his rivals all they could realize by the *de jure* of the case. Mr. Bonwick has given No. One of Port Phillip's earliest newspaper to his readers; I am fortunately enabled to give to mine No. Two of the same series.*

Mr. La Trobe superintendent, 1839.

The Port Phillip settlement was now at full speed in colonial life, and the great distance of so important a place from its seat of government gave weight to the constant demand for a local administration. Captain Lonsdale had been entrusted with but little of authority, having acted during three years, besides doing duty as a police magistrate, rather as a resident representative secretary of the Government at Sydney than an independent functionary. He was superseded, as local head of the community, by Mr. Charles Joseph La Trobe, who, under the new title of Superintendent, arrived at Melbourne on the 1st October, 1839.

His qualifications.

Mr. La Trobe, who belonged to a family, and an active Christian body, well known in our religious circles, was a gentleman of taste and information in the artistic and literary world. As a public man he did not achieve decided popularity amongst the great proportion of his busy practical go-ahead subjects. As regarded public policy, they held him to be rather too

* See Appendix A. No. One belongs to Captain Lonsdale. Mrs. E. C. Hobson, to whom I am indebted for my copy of No. Two, is in possession of that and several other numbers of these interesting memorials.

quiet in disposition and hesitating in purpose; while either from constitutional character or his view of his official duty, he placed himself in the way of the people's yearnings for increasing political privileges and self-government—an unpardonable offence to colonists. But in all other relations no one commanded more respect than Mr. La Trobe. On his departure from Victoria, after an unusually long administration of fifteen years, commencing with a very small and ending with a very great colony, he was presented by his numerous colonial friends with a most elegant and substantial testimonial manufactured from that abundant precious metal that had latterly made the place of his government world-famous. The subject is deserving of mention here both because the article in question was a creditable specimen of manufacture, and because it was a conspicuous object at the late International Exhibition, amongst the many objects of value and interest contributed by Victoria to that great world's-gathering.

Mr. La Trobe's appointment was not tantamount to an independent colonial administration to Port Phillip, which still remained as a district or sub-government of New South Wales; nevertheless, a joyous welcome saluted the new ruler; and he, in his turn, improved the favourable occasion by some well-intended and kindly hints to a numerous auditory, who were mostly absorbed in the reigning land speculation, that there were still higher interests to be aimed at in their new home. Captain Lonsdale became the secretary of the new local government, and, like his chief, held office during all the colony's transactions from its small to its great developments. The present, however, was but the day of very small things, the superintendent having but £800 a year of salary.

Area of jurisdiction.

The jurisdiction of the new government was restricted to an area but little more than half that of the present colony, namely, the territory lying to the southward of 36° south latitude, and between 141° and 146° of east longitude; thus excluding Gipp's Land, most of the Murray district, and the northern and larger half of the Wimmera district. This restricted area belongs to what, in an unfledged sense, we may call the "Port Phillip Settlement," as distinguished from the Port Phillip District, or Southern District of New South Wales, which, under imperial authority, was afterwards proclaimed, in 1843, with the boundaries that still define the colony of Victoria since its separation, eight years further on, from New South Wales.

River Yarra.

After noticing the site of Melbourne, let us not overlook its river. The Yarra Yarra is considerable among the secondary streams of the colony; for although it has the common Australian defect of a barred entrance, it is one of the country's very few permanently running streams. During a good many years of personal observation, I have never known the Yarra to cease running, although, during occasional very dry autumnal seasons, the tiny rills that percolated through the loose stones of the breakwater that was erected at "the falls" were but scant enough to save the name and look of a river. This rare Australian character of "ever-flowing" is usually held to be the meaning of the aboriginal native name Yarra Yarra. Mr. Wedge, however, who appears to have been the first colonist to apply the name, makes some modification of this popular view.* He says he gave the river its present name, because he had heard it so called by the natives during his early visit to Port Phillip. But he afterwards learned that,

Origin of name.

* His letter to Mr. Bonwick, Port Phillip, Chapter v.

in a strict sense, Yarra Yarra meant the falls, and that the same word was also used by the natives for the falls of the river Werribee.

The first discovery or intelligence of the Yarra was through a returned runaway of Collins' convict party, called David Gibson.* Shortly afterwards, Mr. Grimes, the Sydney surveyor-general, came upon it in the course of his examination of Port Phillip, by direction of his Government. Flinders alludes to Grimes, who had been instructed to walk all round the spacious harbour, and whose survey thus made enabled him to complete his own map of Port Phillip, in which we find the river in question laid down as far as the present site of Melbourne. Flinders, in his journeyings about Arthur Seat and Station Peak, had been unable, as he tells us, to meet with any "runs of fresh water;" but he adds that Grimes had met with several, "and in particular a small river falling into the northern head of the port." In the lower course, the Yarra is generally a deep canal-looking body of water, with a dark, silent, sluggish stream. But the upper part abounds alike in true river music, and in charming scenery. Its course was com- First discovery.

* "A fresh water river near the north-east point of the bay," found by Tuckey, the lieutenant of the "Calcutta," within a week of the landing of the colony, I take to have been not the Yarra, but the pretty little Canyneuk creek on the north side of Mount Eliza. As the season was not yet summer (22nd October), there would be enough running water to deserve the name of river, and enough, as I have myself experienced, to give some trouble in crossing, even on horseback. This creek, besides, lies exactly N.E. from the site of the settlement, whereas the Yarra would have been almost exactly north. Tuckey had returned to the settlement only the day before from a five days' exploration of the Bay, having been driven back by a storm from "the north-west point." He seems not to have noticed the Yarra, but brought word that the Geelong arm of Port Phillip might be a passage leading to the sea.

pletely explored in the year 1845 by Mr. Hoddle, the government surveyor, who, with no small fatigue and difficulty, in cutting his way through the profuse and tangled vegetation of a semi-Alpine country, succeeded in reaching the source, situated in a direction E.N.E. from Melbourne, at a distance of about ninety miles.

Remarks on site of Melbourne.

We have remarked that Fawkner's instructions to his party when he sent them forth on their colonizing mission were, that they should plant their settlement only where there was an ample supply of fresh water. The river Yarra at the falls presented the required conditions. Below these falls there was a slight tide, with perceptibly brackish water; above them the water was fresh, and thus offered an unusual temptation in thirsty Australia, whose rivers are so commonly but intermittent streams—torrents perhaps in winter and spring, and chains of ponds at the best in summer and autumn. But this consideration of the water, although urgent for the time, is of small moment compared with others in a great future, as Melbourne itself illustrates. After a few years the river was objected to as inconvenient in respect to level, and comparatively unwholesome as to quality; and Melbourne has since been supplied with pure water altogether irrespective of the Yarra, and at a cost of nearly a million sterling.

Disadvantages.

To our retrospect from to-day, how much has been sacrificed to this temporary resource of the water supply! For its sake the town must needs retreat from other supplies that arrive from without—from that import and export commerce that are long after the outset the life of a colony. A ship arriving from outside could not discharge her cargo direct into Melbourne, but must transship into smaller craft; neither, of course, could the colonial produce be shipped at once into those

vessels that were to convey it to the appointed outside market. How great is the loss here in time, in expense, in damage to property; what obstacles the combined defects occasion; what a vast total of disadvantage they annually result in, few are fully able to realize. People get used to their position—to drawbacks as well as benefits; and it is only on sudden or particular emergencies that the one or the other can be properly appreciated. Melbourne had such an opportunity for displaying its defects as a seaport during two or three years of the rush of business that succeeded to the discovery of the gold-fields. During that time there was the spectacle of several hundred ships pressing simultaneously for the unloading of their cargoes into river lighters, whose last eight miles of the voyage was to involve more of damage, and nearly as much of expense and delay, as the first twelve thousand; while the colony was starving for many kinds of necessaries that were lying in helpless superabundance, practically sealed up, in the harbour.

Minus the immediate advantage of the fresh-water, therefore, the site of Melbourne had some great defects. In a river ascent of eight miles there occur two formidable bars; one at the mouth, the other about half-way to town. Over these obstructions only the smaller craft, drawing not above nine feet of water, can proceed to Melbourne. At the same time, the river is of so circuitous a course, that hardly any one direction of wind will allow a sailing vessel to work its way continuously upwards. But may not Melbourne rejoice in a substantial *per contra*, as some of the old school might say, who are ready to class the new capital with such interior cities as Paris, Moscow, or Madrid, safe alike from the noisy invasions both of commerce and of war.

But even this equivocal consolation is denied; for after toiling over eight miles of the difficulties of the Yarra's navigation, you are brought back, by its singular deflections, to within a mile and a half of the seacoast of Hobson's Bay, from whence a ship of war could with perfect ease shell the city, and select at pleasure any of the seven hills of the new Rome for its destructive exercise.

Improvements.

During many years of debates between those who advocated the deepening of the Yarra, and those who preferred to leave it alone, this costly undertaking of river and harbour improvement has not yet been adventured on. Meanwhile, however, the port has been very materially improved in other ways, and chiefly by two railroads proceeding direct from Melbourne; the one to the nearest part of the beach at Hobson's Bay, where it extends into deep water, the other more circuitously to the opposite side at Williamstown, where there is an excellent and well-sheltered harbour.

Site too hilly.

We have alluded to Melbourne's seven hills. Commend us to these pleasing inequalities by all means, where the main object of a town is scenic effect. But if other objects are more imperative, a level surface may be a facility almost as important to colonial business as the unobstructed communication with the outside world. New York, with its street railways, is a marvellous instance of the facilities of a level site. On the other hand, Melbourne and Geelong, with their costly levellings, their changes of plans, the party and personal feelings on the subject, the filling up here, the lowering there, and, withal, the inconvenient gradations that still survive, illustrate the disadvantage of the more romantic sites. If the eminences are healthy, the hollows are sickly. Melbourne has never stood very high in the

sanitary scale, and Elizabeth Street, which traverses the lowest part of the town, has the repute of being especially unhealthy.

Better sites.

The site of Williamstown, at the mouth of the Yarra, perhaps, best conjoined the great requirements of easy and direct access as a seaport, with a level, yet dry and healthful situation. The alternative was Geelong, which, with the sole defect of a hilly site, seemed to possess every requisite. The surrounding country was fertile, and in a great measure clear of timber and rock, while a noble and capacious harbour, completely sheltered and landlocked, presented only the drawback of a narrow bar, which might have been cut at little cost, and which even for the comparatively few wants of the smaller town that had arisen there, has already been removed, so as to admit the larger shipping.

But no superiority of site has availed either Geelong or Williamstown against the prestige of the official capital. Had Melbourne, as the capital, enjoyed such a site as either of these other places possessed, it would probably have been much larger and wealthier than it now is, surprising as its actual attainments seem to us. Nevertheless, Melbourne, where it is, has fought and conquered. Art has come to the aid of Nature, and the southern metropolis is now at length a good seaport, with conveniences adequate to its trade, while it is both able and ready to extend these conveniences when required.

First plan defective.

The original plan on which Melbourne was laid out was defective, in stinting it as to open areas, and width of streets, for which adequate space might so easily have been spared at the first out of the unowned and almost untenanted waste. This defect found some

excuse in common with that of the site; for both probably arose from an entire absence of anticipation of the future greatness of the capital of pastoral Port Phillip. The chief streets were of convenient enough width, but they were intersected by narrow lanes destined to become an unwholesome and unsavoury feature of the city. These lanes seem to have been originally suggested for supplying, as it were, a back access to the open areas, or gardens that might be supposed to pervade a semi-rural township. The observer of these early days probably pictured to himself a cottage upon each half-acre allotment, with the vine and the fig-tree drooping in rural verdure over walls and hedges, to shade the quiet thoroughfares of Melbourne.

But such poetry of colonial life could have had only a brief existence ere it was blown away by a gust of the hard facts of the actual case. As people flocked into Port Phillip and its capital, the prices for the green sward rose daily, and the back lanes were ever preferently bought up and settled upon as offering the cheapest ground. And thus an allotment on which theory had so comfortably established but one family, would be promptly subdivided into a score of sections, each selling for as much, perhaps, as the owner had paid shortly before for the whole. The lanes were found to be a mistake, but too late for remedy as regarded the limits of the original plan. In the subsequent extensions of the city, however, this defect was avoided in common with several others.

Remedies; open spaces.

One notable defect is the absence of open areas in the "old original Melbourne." In the later extensions this requirement has not been overlooked, and the town is indebted mainly to the taste of Mr. La Trobe for its pleasant Fitzroy and Carlton Gardens, for the noble

parks outside, and the picturesque botanical garden that diversifies the south-eastern suburbs. Thus there is now as fair a supply of everything in the way of "lungs" as a weary and dust-begrimed townsman can reasonably desire. More recently, the cause of the ornamental in and around Melbourne has been largely promoted by the government botanist, Dr. Mueller. Amongst other improvements, as he tells us, in a late official report, he has been adorning the banks of the Yarra with many specimens of select and suitable exotic timber, such as cedars, Wellingtonias, Italian firs, and superior Californian pines. "We must anticipate," he adds, "that by the display of these noble trees, a most picturesque feature will be introduced into the metropolitan landscape.

No indigenous features left.

The worst feature of the old plan consists in the monotonous plainness of the central localities in consequence of the main hollow that lies between the eastern and western hills, having been entirely devoted to streets and buildings. The whole transverse of the town, north and south, through this vale, might have been most tastefully reserved as a belt of the primeval grass, with its natural open forest of fine old gum trees. One of the picturesque objects of our favourite and fashionable Brighton consists in the open space reserved along the hollow part of the town, although the happy idea is but narrowly and imperfectly carried out. When travelling some years ago in the United States of America, one of the many towns one meets with in the interior was pointed out to me as deserving of notice from having in preservation in its midst one of the stately monarchs of the ancient forest that otherwise had entirely disappeared from the scene. There, in the midst of a suitable open reserve, stood the venerable

relic of the past, a monument of good taste, and a permanent distinction to the town, but a distinction that I could not help thinking any other of the unnoticeable towns we passed might have also acquired by the exercise of a little taste and foresight. Melbourne, too, has lost her great scenic and sanitary opportunity. She has held her grass and her old gum-trees too cheap in the day of their superabundance, and now every vestige of such aboriginal features has disappeared from the more central parts of the city. Instead of this interesting reserve of indigenous scenery, which would have at once redeemed the capital from its plainness, and relieved its most crowded districts, we have a main thoroughfare, low and difficult of drainage, and discrediting Melbourne's sanitary repute by its permanent unhealthiness.*

* This thoroughfare, Elizabeth Street, is conspicuous in the bills of Melbourne mortality. The corporation have done much for it by graduating its levels and otherwise, while the present water-supply and prospective underground drainage, may greatly redeem its character. It is an instance that if the hills of a town site are healthy, the hollows are, at least, proportionately the reverse. One of the principal medical men of Melbourne used to say, in earlier times, that he could not cure an Elizabeth Street patient of any serious complaint unless he were removed from that region of cemetral associations. About the middle of December last (1863), Melbourne was visited by a flood of the Yarra, exceeding, both as to the height of the waters and the damage effected, any previous experience. This Elizabeth Street was itself for a time a second Yarra, and the low part of the town on either side of it, suffered great damage. The Yarra at Heidelburg, a few miles above Melbourne, rose fifty feet in perpendicular height; while parts of the city were separated by a sea of waters, on which innumerable boats were plying, and affording to the citizens the unwonted novelty of entering their houses by the upper windows, instead of the ordinary and unromantic door.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PORT PHILLIP DISTRICT, OR SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW SOUTH WALES.—1843—1851.

Subdivision of New South Wales by Imperial Act, 1842—The Port Phillip district—Political institutions—Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania—Hard times—Municipalities—State of Melbourne Streets, 1843—Efforts at Improvement—Rectangles of modern towns—Melbourne rent-roll, 1852-63—Mayor and corporation—Melbourne and Sydney are cities—The Port Phillip authorities—Agitation for severance from New South Wales—Incidents of eleven years' contest, 1840-51—The Separation Legislative Session—Colony of Victoria constituted, 1st July, 1851.

Port Phillip District Established.

AN Imperial Act for the Australian Colonies, passed in the year 1842, contains important provisions for the Port Phillip settlement, which is thenceforth, until 1851, officially the Southern District of New South Wales. By this Act, representative institutions, legislative and municipal, are conferred upon the colony. Instead of the council of crown nominees that had existed at Sydney previously, there is now to be a legislative assembly, consisting of elective members to the extent of two-thirds of its number, the remaining one-third being still a nominee element. The franchise, legislative and municipal, is to be a £20 rental. In a total of thirty-six elective members to be assembled at Sydney, the Port Phillip district is to be represented by six.

Representative and Municipal Institutions.

The Act was brought into operation in the colony in the following year, 1843. Port Phillip was stirred for the first time with the noise of political elections; but it was a feeble stir, for the province was bent on withdrawing entirely from the New South Wales connection, and obtaining a separate government of its own. It was already in full career with an agitation for "Separation." Far different, however, was the reception given by the colonists to the municipal institutions, for in them they had really local government of its own kind. Melbourne and Geelong had been incorporated, and their respective citizens braced themselves up for the activities of the future.

Boundaries.

One very important feature of this Act was that it assigned the boundaries of the Port Phillip District. New South Wales was constituted into three great divisions, namely, the Southern or Port Phillip District, the Middle or Sydney District, and the Northern or Moreton Bay District, as stated in our last chapter. The boundaries which were on this occasion appointed to the Port Phillip District are still the same that distinguish Victoria.

Not satisfactory.

The Port Phillip colonists, however, were by no means satisfied with these boundaries. The river Murray, which constitutes the bounding line to the north, makes a great sweep to the southward, at the part of its course where it receives the Goulburn and Campaspé; and in so doing it leaves on its northern bank many settlers who were already, even at that early stage of the southern settlement, by social and commercial relations, a part of the Port Phillip community. The river's course, at that early time, had not been laid down very accurately for the guidance of the home authorities. Anyhow, the colonists would fain have rejected the

Murray and claimed the line of the Murrumbidgee, as between them and New South Wales. And again, on the South Australian side, they would gladly have clung to the Murray, following the noble stream to its mouth, instead of being stopped short by the arbitrary as well as imaginary line of the 141st degree of east longitude.

But this is one of many instances showing that people cannot always be served as they would like; and more especially in this case, where others were wanting the same things, and had them in their possession besides. The Victorians themselves seem to have so regarded the subject, for this spirit of invasive ambition has now moderated, and at the same time they have been gradually absorbed by their increasing cares as regard the large interests of the territory they already possess. At the same time, their views and claims rested on a good foundation, as has ever since been indicated by Victoria's large annual abstractions of the commerce of her neighbours, more especially of New South Wales, throughout the district in question.

Tasmania.

We have a last word on the old name of Van Diemen's Land. About nine years ago, the colony was re-christened, to inaugurate a new career under the more euphonious title of Tasmania, in honour of her first discoverer. Henceforth, indeed, the fair Tasmania is dwarfed as compared with the swelling proportions of her younger sister, Port Phillip, who, however, must still owe the senior a kind of maternal reverence. We shall in future speak of Tasmania and Tasmanian colonists. To save somewhat of anachronism, we have at the outset been using the old denomination of Van Diemen's Land; but as that has been abandoned to the convict associations of the past, we are now delighted also to part with it, as we approach the threshold of the new

and promising era brought by the abolition of the transportation system to this and the adjacent colonies.

Governor's visit, "Bad Times."

One governor of New South Wales had launched Melbourne into official existence, and six years afterwards his successor also paid a visit to Port Phillip, to learn the progress of his remote dependency. This later governor was Sir George Gipps, who arrived at Melbourne in October, 1843. By this time a great change had come over the settlement. It had gone through a crisis. Thriving colonies are always in or just out of crises. Such emergencies are the symptoms and the results of the go-ahead colonial pace. The land speculations by this time had all subsided, leaving the place none the richer for the general extravagance that accompanied them. The colonists had boasted of endless profits by their dealings with one another in land allotments. So sure seemed the basis, that not a few could and actually did clear out with the hard money, while most of the remainder had been spending their profits right nobly. But when the high prices proved only temporary, and these profits to be based on a fiction, the expenditure remained real and irrevocable, and was simply the loss of so much of the capital that had come into the place. The colonists, however, were in good heart withal, and they gave Sir George a public dinner, at which they made as imposing and creditable an appearance as the accommodations of their juvenile capital would permit. The governor commented on the change that had come over a scene so lately alive with speculation and reputed money-making. He said that he found the outskirts of Melbourne strewed with empty champagne bottles. The bottles must once have been full, and have cost Melbourne a considerable penny—a circumstance that

formed one among a hundred explanations of the present depression and universal complaint of a "scarcity of money."

Melbourne and Geelong have now entered upon municipal existence. If the poverty of the day was favourable to virtuous frugality in municipal procedure, it did not help the new institutions in extracting money from the scanty purses of the citizens. Nevertheless, these new institutions throve, for they are especially congenial to our colonists. After the initiation by Imperial Act, the Colonial Legislature, by an act of its own, increased the facilities of the municipality system. Most amply has the act been responded to. Victoria has already some sixty municipal towns. The grass is scarcely half trodden down in the streets formed by a few dozen houses ere the young township calls out for its mayor and corporation to aid in expelling the humiliating verdant green, and in other objects useful and ornamental. What competition for office, and what electioneering bustle! Who can sum up the array of colonial aldermen, or keep pace with the dinners and speeches in which they are alternately engaged? Until very recently, the heads of these later municipalities were dignified with only the scanty title of "Chairman," but now, by a colonial Act, that came into operation on 1st October, 1863, they are arrayed with all the honours of the mayoral designation. Municipal system.

It is fortunate for the more complete enjoyment of the old Guildhall associations of the other hemisphere, that turtle are abundant in a sister colony, and made reasonably accessible to an increasing array of customers by steam communication with Queensland. There is already a considerable and increasing trade in the great staple of corporation festivity; and as this is

collateral with the fact of the constant increase of corporations, we seem shut up to but one conclusion as to the source of the demand. And who dares limit this lively branch of commerce in the expansion of Victoria's municipal future? A Brisbane acquaintance tells me that he takes a venture occasionally in this section of traffic, but that the moderate prices resulting from a smart competition in the supply are now somewhat subversive of any tempting profits. By all means help the enjoyments and spare the funds of the poor corporations, for they have a long and hard battle with their respective citizens, alike as to their official duties and their time-honoured official recreations. They exist in an undying warfare between their receipts and their expenditure, their rate-making and their road-making, their partisans for the one thing and their opponents for the other thing, with the climax of discomfort in publicity for everything, and thanks for nothing.

State of Melbourne.

The Melbourne corporation were excusably alarmed as they, for the first time, with corporate official eyes, glanced over their field of labour. For seven years the streets of the capital had run riot in wear and tear, natural and artificial, excepting where, here and there, some small expenditure had been doled out by the distant Sydney Government. The stumps of huge gum trees still diversified the thoroughfares, and were the cause of many mishaps, by day as well as by night. On occasions of rain, a river coursed through the town, and meeting no drains or other artifices of later times, it tore up for itself a bed of ominous dimensions, the terror of topers and night-larkers. Commencing its casual course about a mile outside to the north, it careered unrestrained to the Yarra, along the entire length of Elizabeth Street. This casual stream was of such

noticeable dimensions and doings as to be identified by a name of its own—"the Williams,"—derived, perhaps, from some luckless wight who, in the early days when champagne still circulated at land auction sales, had toppled into its muddy but cooling tide. The champagne lunches that usually prefaced the auction sales of these days are chargeable with many mishaps besides those of stimulating the biddings of victims for the land allotments. The streets generally were in a sad mess; and from the wharf at one side to the "bush" at the other, the ups and downs, the ruts and holes, were past all counting. Without the town, too, the state of things was in some directions worse than within, for the circumambulations of the Williams, and several of its lesser rivals, had so rent the surface where the traffic had removed the original protecting grass, that to ride or drive into or out of Melbourne was as precarious a pilotage as that of the most dangerous of seaports.

From all this confusion Melbourne has emerged a most presentable specimen of the successful result of municipal labours, and a striking instance of the use and value of municipal institutions. A moderate and usual rating of from 6*d.* to 1*s.* per pound on the yearly value of town property, together with market and other customary dues, had been sufficient to meet the demands upon the corporation during the first eight years, until the era of the gold-fields. Then, indeed, these ordinary means were no longer adequate to keep pace with the requirements arising from the sudden and great expansion of population and business. The traffic of the existing streets increased tenfold; while the town, expanding in every direction, invaded the virgin grass outside, with alignments for additional streets, which, within a few weeks or months of these preliminary pro-

jections, were ploughed up with the traffic of an entirely new district of Melbourne, occupied by a new roll of citizens. A climax of difficulty was involved in the fact that the riches of the mines, and the scarcity of labouring hands, made money to be comparatively powerless; so that a pound sterling could scarcely be computed at a value of five shillings, when its present position was weighed in the balance of its former power and consideration.

Government aid.

A wail of despair arose simultaneously from a thousand draymen, carters, and cabmen, or more properly from the public, that eventually makes good from its pocket any disadvantage to its servants. In the year 1854, when the crisis had reached its worst, the Government stepped forth to the aid of the corporation, and a public loan of £500,000 was negotiated on their behalf; at the same time there was a similar loan for £200,000 procured for Geelong, which town, with the great gold-field of Ballarat at its back, had fallen into the same chequered category of riches, expansion, and inconvenience. These large sums, in spite of all obstacles, accomplished marvels for the respective localities. In the neat and finished condition of its streets Melbourne may now rival any of the time-honoured capitals of the old world, and it greatly surpasses not a few, and among them most, if not all, the towns approaching its own dimensions in the mother-country.

Rectangular streets.

In these comparisons, however, the colonial town has always a certain advantage; for the straight lines and precise rectangles of modern town-making among our practical colonial communities, how much soever deprecated by archæological imaginations, carry an effect of decided superiority with the prosaic remainder

of the world. The *coup-d'œil* of a great and busy street is a noble and striking object of its kind, and there can be no such enjoyable vista, at least from ordinary standpoints, if we do not condescend to the straight lines. Melbourne furnishes a dozen or more of such urban effects from as many of the principal streets, the length of view being generally about one mile. On the well-known mathematical principle that a straight line is the nearest course between two given points, there is a convenience, too, in this directness of approach to one's object that, once experienced, we are loath to forego, in spite of the poetry of old bye-ways, and the scenic variety, in a certain aspect, of the crooked and circuitous. "Our Transatlantic cousins" are in these respects even a step beyond us, as they arrange their successive streets Nos. one to a hundred, and so forth, just like so many bales of goods, and can, as it were, lay their hands on them when wanted almost as readily. In New York, for instance, Fiftieth Street by Fifth Avenue may be pointed out to you from a house-top miles away by any citizen of a month's standing; and he might even cover with his rifle (for all association of ideas runs this way for the present) the very house you are bound for, if you can give him the number.

Public loans.

The loans we have alluded to formed an aid to the respective corporations from the public revenue, and the arrangement was that the Colonial Government should discharge the principal of the loans by equal yearly instalments spread over twenty years, while the corporations paid the yearly interest. This financial operation was for a time familiar in Melbourne under the name of the Gabrielli Loan, so called from the contracting party, who, in those early days, when neither

colony nor corporation had introduced itself within the great monetary circles, obtained the loan with its six per cent. interest, at £95 per £100 bond. Latterly the stock of both loans has been mostly transferred to London, where, notwithstanding a rather complex kind of security, "Melbourne Corporations," as they are termed in technical brevity, hold a good position as a Colonial Government security on the Stock Exchange.

Rateable values and incomes.

This system of aiding the municipalities out of the colonial revenue, thus liberally commenced with the two principal places, has continued ever since, and is now an established feature of colonial finance. At the end of 1861 there were forty-eight different municipalities in the colony, including several offshoots from the main body in Melbourne, effected by the remoter districts under that intense spirit of localism which seems the inspiring genius in corporation affairs. To these various bodies a Government aid was awarded for that year of the aggregate sum of £102,422, in addition to their own local revenues, amounting for the same period to £181,756. The value of the rateable property of these municipalities for the same year was £20,690,476, while the annual value was £2,171,767. It is worthy of remark, as illustrative of colonial fluctuations, that the annual value of Melbourne, which for 1852 was estimated by the corporation at only £174,723, rose two years afterwards to the scarcely credible sum of £1,553,965; and that it has since then so seriously collapsed from that sudden inflation as never to have even approximately regained, with all the subsequent expansion and improvements of its collective municipalities, the too sanguine estimate of its younger days.

Rent-roll of Melbourne.

We may form some notion of Melbourne house-rent in 1854 by comparing Melbourne's municipal rent-roll

of that year with that of the burgh and royalty of Glasgow, which in 1862 was only £1,702,113, Glasgow having six times Melbourne's population as at the respective dates. Although Melbourne has been somewhat enlarged and greatly improved during the last nine years, the valuation has annually receded until it is now but a little over one-half of that of its climax. The "City of Melbourne" municipality, which however now includes less than half the whole of Melbourne, returns a value of only £560,862; but in conjunction with such other municipalities as are really part of the town and not suburbs, the total may be rather more than £800,000. The yearly value of Sydney, whose population is about four-fifths of that of Melbourne, was, for 1862, £704,000. There were twelve suburban municipalities in the neighbourhood of Sydney, and sixteen others throughout the rest of New South Wales.

Mayor and corporation.

Melbourne's mayoralty roll is an object of colonial interest proportioned to the noticeable position of the city, and the still greater future that seems before it. The first mayor was Mr. Henry Condell, a respectable colonist from Tasmania, whose municipal subjects numbered about six thousand at his accession to the chair.* Another of the citizens, Mr. J. T. Smith, has occupied the office at intervals on no less than six annual occasions.† Where is the glory of Whittington now? Even the thrice Lord Mayoralty of that ancient worthy

* The first council of the corporation consisted of the following names:—Henry Condell, mayor and alderman; A. Russell, H. W. Mortimer, and W. Kerr, aldermen; D. S. Campbell, G. James, J. Orr, J. P. Fawkner, J. T. Smith, Dickson, Beaver, and Patterson. J. C. King, Town Clerk. The council was elected by £20 householders, and the mayor by the council.

† Since the above was written, the last "9th of November" has resulted in electing Mr. Smith mayor for the seventh time.

rung into his ears with such inspiring vaticination by "Old Bow Bells," is threatened of late with a reduction to twice by the rude hand of critical inquiry. And was London, after all, a larger city under Whittington than Melbourne under Smith? The senior was then at least a far less presentable composition of bricks and mortar than its trim and substantial junior is now, while it was immeasurably short of the modern rival in extent of commerce. No doubt any size of our towns, like any amount of our money in these remote times, is entitled to very much more credit than the numerical equivalents now-a-days — an acknowledgment with which Melbourne may creditably bow herself out of the contest, and avoid the danger of any further comparisons with her giant cotemporary.

Equal civil rights.

While still upon Melbourne and municipal topics, I have a pleasant and inspiring duty, with reference to the frank mutual recognition of political and social rights, in recording that at the time I now write, the supreme magisterial chair of the Australian metropolis is occupied by a Jew. This is only a proper response to the parallel example of the metropolis of the empire some years previous. Indeed, I am authorized to proceed even beyond our exemplary prototype; for Mr. Cohen, the mayor in question, and his co-religionists of Victoria, might also take the further position of elected members of the colonial Parliament, without encountering any of those obstacles that beset Mr. Alderman Salomons and Baron Rothschild. Mr. Cohen is not only mayor of Melbourne, but also a member of the Legislative Assembly. And still extending our pleasant reflections on these colonial liberalities, I may further mention that the late premier of Victoria, Mr. John O'Shanassy, an Irishman and a Roman Catholic, has

held his high office for a longer period than any other colonist since the self-government era—an exemplary homage to considerations of personal merit or public usefulness, in a colony essentially British and Protestant, by at least the relative proportions of its population.

Cities and Bishops.

We have spoken, somewhat indiscriminately, of Melbourne as a town and a city. According to old English rule, it is only where a town has been distinguished as the selected see of a bishop of the National Church that it secures the coveted title of city. We fear that the colonial sentiment of religious equality is not favourable to the customary deference of home in this respect. But, however that might have been under any difference of Church incidents in the case, Melbourne has for some time been a city by all that a real bishop can make it such. The present active and estimable prelate, the first Bishop of Melbourne, was appointed from England, and arrived in the year 1848.

We have already intimated that the seat of supreme colonial authority was at Sydney, the capital of the large, and as yet undivided colony of New South Wales. Sydney, too, was already a city, and of some years' standing, by that episcopal right just alluded to. The first of Australia's Anglican dignitaries had been established there, bearing the comprehensive title of Bishop of Australia; and when he afterwards submitted to the present territorial diminutive of Bishop of Sydney, it was in reality to be promoted to the rank of a metropolitan in the midst of his suffragan brethren, who were at subsequent stages appointed to other places, and to adjacent colonies. But on grounds more substantial, in the material and secular world at least, Sydney was also a city, surpassing in size and beauty, in wealth and commerce, all its Aus-

tralian rivals. Although Melbourne has latterly carried off this palm of metropolitanship, her senior sister is so little behind as to invest with all the charm of uncertainty the future results of the race. The bound by which the fresh young Southerner overtook and jumped ahead of the more staid matron of the North, was almost that of the hare over the tortoise. But after one decennium of indisputable headship, it seems not improbable that the tables may be turned before the expiry of another; so that on the one hand, with the great falling off in the Victorian gold produce of late years, which seems to have left Melbourne almost stationary in point of population and commerce, and, on the other, the steady increase generally of New South Wales, the old and classic fable may, ere long, be once more realized.*

Local Government Staff.

We have stepped, almost unwittingly, into this digression. And yet it is neither without interest to a colonist of either of the rival places, nor quite unconnected with this part of our subject. Let us now direct attention to the general government of the Port Phillip District. While the general authority was at Sydney, the Southern District possessed a separate administration of its own under a deputy-governor, with the official title, as already mentioned, of "Superintendent." Under the superintendent were a secretary, a sub-treasurer, and other usual officers of a government, while there had been added in 1841 a Supreme Court, with its resident judge, deputy

* The gold produce of New South Wales, however, has indicated a decided falling-off, after showing a remarkably rapid increase up to the year 1863. (See Chap. xv.) Sydney is steadily increasing in size, while Melbourne, which has been over-built for the present, is all but stationary.

sheriff, and customary staff of civil and criminal jurisdiction. In short, there was an apparatus of local government, but without authority over the chief local concernments, and particularly as to the disposal of the very considerable general revenue and the proceeds of land sales of the District. This position of affairs was not likely to be satisfactory to an ambitious and rising settlement, and, consequently, it soon created, and yearly intensified, the demand of the Port Phillip colonists for separation, and a territory and government of their own, independent of the Sydney authorities.

Separation from New South Wales.

The battle of separation is not unworthy of a passing retrospect even now, after a dozen years' interment of the relics of the strife on both sides. The old antipathy and awe of the aggressive junior at the grasping position and the unapproachable greatness of the senior, have mellowed down by time, and by the still more efficacious influence of a parallel, or even superior greatness to the younger combatant. But separation was a warm topic in its day. No man was inclined, but at any rate none dared to talk lightly of it. Every elected member of Council sent up to Sydney—for Port Phillip, as we have said, sent six to be added to the thirty of the rest of the colony—was sworn on the altar of separation. Even Sydney residents could not escape this ordeal. They well knew the terms, and also that the Port Phillip doorway was an easy entrance to the legislature if they were sound, or passed as such, on "the main question." In fact, it very soon appeared that, owing to the inconvenience and expense arising from the great distance between the two parts of the colony, very few Port Phillip residents would ever attempt the representation of their District—a circum-

stance that was one of the best arguments in the case. Conversation and newspapers were daily replete with the question. One leading Melbourne citizen of the time literally gave up his life to it, and found so many "reasons for separation," that it was feared the Home Government would lose its way in the mazes of so long a document, and thus the case be lost through its very completeness.*

Although the colonists were thus impatient upon this question, one must confess that its successive phases were presented at no lingering pace. The separation movement is formally inaugurated by a public meeting at Melbourne only five years after Fawkner's party had inaugurated Melbourne itself; and after eleven years more the whole business is finally and successfully settled. How is the deep-drawn poetry of traditional tales and ancestral toils to be extracted from such summary proceedings of yesterday and the day before. We have but a short peg by which to hang our case upon the inspiring lines of the great Scottish bard:—

> "For freedom's battle, once begun,
> Descends from bleeding sire to son,
> And baffled oft, is ever won."

The Separation contest.

But the practical character and the rapid life of colonies now-a-days are entirely opposed to any needless or avoidable loss of time. The first public meeting took place in the year 1840, and was held in Hind's store, situated at the south-east corner of the Market

* No colonist of these busy separation-fighting days can have forgotten Mr. Edward Curr, a gentleman of good abilities, which he freely and disinterestedly devoted to public objects, or rather to this one public object of the time. He died but a short while before the completion of the object he had so earnestly toiled for.

Square. The edifice, of enviable dimensions for its day, was built of wood, like nearly all its contemporaries. With the aid of various props and repairs, alterations and additions, the fragile fabric lingered to a good old age, far into the colony's history, and outliving by some years the controversy it had served to commence. All was swept away a few years since, to make room for the colossal stone structure of Goldborough's wool warehouse.

Rev. Dr. Lang.

The next step of importance is four years later, and proceeded from a Sydney resident, one of those who had been elected to represent Port Phillip. This was the Rev. Dr. Lang, a colonist of old standing, ability, and public usefulness. The doctor was well known in both the political and religious world of Australia, but with the somewhat conflicting favour that every clergyman of strong political leanings must expect. He conceived the happy idea of drawing up a petition to the Imperial authorities, to be signed by all the Port Phillip members, praying for the separation. It was hardly to be expected that any others of the Council should agree with this object. Nevertheless, one of them did so. Mr. Robert Lowe, who has since attained home parliamentary distinction, seceded from the opposing phalanx of his brother members of the Middle and Northern Districts. If he did not escape being twitted on a mania for the dissimilar and independent, and on so clear a case of giving up a material guarantee for good things to his own side of the hearth, it was certainly not by Port Phillip. Dr. Lang's measure produced an effect at the Colonial Office, and seems to have been the first movement in the case that had so desirable a result. Nay, it even produced that hopeful result, an official acknowledgment, and by and by it

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brought about an official inquiry at the Imperial instance. Thenceforward, therefore, the separation movement rested upon some real recognizable basis, outside the district as well as within, and went forward cheerily.

Dr. Lang was deservedly congratulated on his success, and was subsequently entertained at a grand separation banquet, laid out in the modest Melbourne theatre of that day, where he enlivened a very considerable audience by one of those speeches on colonial party warfare in which he could be always both amusing and effective. The Doctor alluded to the late Surveyor General of the Colony, Sir Thomas Mitchell, who, with poetic imagination, had compared New South Wales, entire as it then stood, to a noble bird, whose body is the Middle, or Sydney district, while its expanded wings are the Northern and Southern divisions, Moreton Bay and Port Phillip. And shall this royal eagle be severed! But the complaint of the wings was that the middle region possessed the mouth, and kept what was put therein; in short, the bird had proved itself to be, not an eagle, but a cormorant.

Scheme to aid the cause.

Dr. Lang's great step was taken in 1844. We now go on for four years longer, and still there is no separation. Four years make a long interval to the patience or impatience of a young colony, and, as every colonist knows what he himself could accomplish with such an indefinite extent of the future at his command, he proportionately has faith in his colony whenever it can claim an independent existence. But what on earth is the use of these Port Phillip elections for the Sydney Legislature! As they produced no result in the right direction, the Melbourne electors laid their heads together for a more efficient process. Resolved on producing an effect, and following a suggestion of Mr.

M'Combie, they proposed, on the first opportunity, no less a personage than the Right Honourable Earl Grey, Her Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies. His Lordship was duly elected; and when the return was so made to Sydney; when some inconveniences and difficulties were apprehended in consequence; and when, upon the news of this political stroke reaching home, his lordship was jocularly questioned upon it in the House of Lords, and replied in the same good temper—the success of the affair was complete; and it probably expedited the cause it was intended to serve more than all the other previous doings put together.

The only mischance that arose from this successful piece of political pleasantry happened to the superintendent and the governor. The former, shocked at such liberties with the Downing Street dignitaries, protested to the Home Government against a delinquency which he thought must show how unfit the people under his charge still were for the free institutions they demanded; and the latter, by a home despatch to the same purpose, blundered into the same pitfall with his deputy.* The community kicks against its bonds, and the authorities can only infer how much more it must kick should the bonds be removed.

Success.

Whatever may have been the precise force of effect of this electioneering scheme, separation came promptly

* My brother historian of Victoria, Mr. Thomas M'Combie, speaks of the "treachery" of the superintendent, in opposing representation and self-government. It never crossed my mind to associate anything approaching to crime with the exemplary relations of our late governor. But if we are to take Talleyrand's motto, that a blunder is worse than a crime, my friend's apparent severity is capable of a gentler aspect. I hope he will not now turn the tables on myself. *M'Combie's Victoria*, chap. xiii.

on its heels, for in the succeeding year, 1849, the colonists learned that the fiat had gone forth, and that the object of their wishes was a thing settled. Some delay however occurred in the completion of a great constitutional bill on the Australian colonies, of which bill it had been decided that the Port Phillip separation case should form a part. This bill became in the following year the important Australian Colonies Act of 1850; and the New South Wales legislature was summoned for the year 1851, by the Sydney authorities, to take action upon the imperial prescriptions.

The "Separation Session."

Now, indeed, there was for once the absence of apathy in the Port Phillip elections. Earl Grey had performed his work, and as his lordship had done it entirely to the satisfaction of the electors, he was relegated with honour to Downing Street—such of him at least as had come into the hands of his admiring constituents. On this exciting occasion all the six members of the Southern district, with one exception, Mr. William Macarthur of Camden, were Port Phillip men. The town of Geelong, which had then some ambitious aspirations to the position of "the commercial capital," resolved to be equal to its destinies. It had not been privileged like Melbourne, the "official capital," to a member specially for itself; so, in the ardour of the occasion, after assisting in the election of the five who were to represent the district, it sent up a sixth, of its own selection, to the scene of war, to see that the others did their duty.*

* This characteristic and enjoyable stroke of colonial zeal and party tactics, was laid upon Dr. Thomson, one of the earliest of the settlers at Geelong, from Tasmania, and his shoulders were nothing loath to bear the invidious burden; for the doctor, who had been repeatedly Mayor of Geelong, and a leading spirit in most

The electoral acts and other necessary arrangements having been duly passed, the old council of the united colony was dissolved, and with its dissolution ceased the connection of the Southern District. The Port Phillip members returned home to find they belonged henceforth to an independent colony. The Superintendent, who had also been in Sydney during these important proceedings, returned at the same time, to find himself the Lieutenant Governor of the new territory. The dignities and congratulations of the occasion were completed in the acceptable intimation that the colony, by express wish of the Queen, had been honoured by her own name of Victoria.

Colony of Victoria, 1st July, 1851.

No inconsiderable amount of ceremonial—the swearing in of the Governor, and various other duties that completed the inauguration of the new colony—took place on the 1st July, 1851. There was a general procession in honour of the day, and after almost every colonist within reach had been pressed into the line by virtue of some rank, personal or official, or associated membership in something or other, there was still a perfectly marvellous world of outside spectators in addition. The anniversary of this 1st of July is still a general

Ceremonies and rejoicings.

public movements, was at the time by far the most active and observant public man of his ambitious municipality. But it is not to be expected that, under the circumstances of the case in question, when in Sydney to fulfil his abnormal mission, he had much weight either for good or for ill, with his more legitimate associates. The truth was, that democratic Geelong, or rather that active section of it that had selected the doctor, was by no means parallel in its political notions with the squatting, conservative, anti-popular, and especially anti-Geelong and anti-Melbourne remainder of the district. The names of the members on this occasion were, for the district, Messrs. Macarthur, Ebden, Moor, Major Mercer, and Dr. Dickson; for Melbourne, Mr. Westgarth.

holiday for Victoria, and many must yet remember the agreeable excitement of the time. To the colonists the prospect at last of a government of their own, and above all, of a local representative legislature, the most coveted of all the objects of the past struggles, was especially inspiring. And in regard to material welfare there was cause for general satisfaction. Everywhere the envied condition of "comfortable circumstances," seemed applicable alike to the individual and the community. The colony was rolling along upon a steady and pleasantly progressive wave of prosperity. It had already made a very fair position amongst its sister colonies of the empire. The census of the 2nd March preceding showed that it contained at that time above 77,000 colonists, of whom Melbourne possessed 23,000; while the import and export commerce, collectively, for the preceding year, 1850, had amounted to nearly two millions sterling.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SEPARATION OF PORT PHILLIP FROM NEW SOUTH WALES —THE SEPARATION QUESTION GENERALLY—PORTLAND AND THE RIVERINE—1851—1863.

Spirit of Secession in large Colonies—Certain causes—Examples—Australia different from New Zealand—Port Phillip—Queensland—Advantage of local administration—Portland would secede from Victoria; Riverine from New South Wales—These tendencies not unfavourable to Imperial interests.

Secession tendencies.

THE opportunity is favourable for a few words on "separations" generally, in the colonial light; and for considering as to how far sub-divisions of colonial governments may beneficially go, upon what principles they may proceed, and what tangible principles there are in the case.

Instances.

The Duke of Newcastle, the present Secretary for the Colonies, made an amusing remark on this subject lately, in the House of Lords, when interrogated on the sensitive colonial question of the boundary separating the new colony of Queensland from New South Wales. Earl Grey, on 24th March last, had presented a petition from the colonists of the Richmond and Clarence rivers, and other adjacent parts, claiming to be transferred to the former colony, instead of remaining with the latter. They contended that their proper capital, and the actual centre of their business, was Brisbane, at the distance of a hundred miles to

the north, and not Sydney, at five hundred to the south. His lordship thought these views were reasonable, and he alluded also to a requisition proceeding unitedly from the eastern part of the colony of South Australia, and the western part of that of Victoria, to the effect that these two adjacent districts, remotely situated from their respective centres of government, might be conjoined into one separate and distinct colony, with a government of its own. The Duke, after replying that alterations in the Queensland and New South Wales boundary had been left an open question, to be agreed upon between the two colonies, and that he had not heard further on the subject—remarked that there was an interminable tendency to secession at the extremities of colonies, and to such an extent, in fact, that if all the views and petitions were attended to, Sydney for instance, would be left with little more than the immediately surrounding territory.

Causes. This interminable seceding at the extremities arises simply from the inherent interest in public affairs and attachment to institutions of self-government that distinguishes our colonial countrymen. This feeling pervades every class; for the poorest labourer from the mother country is no sooner comfortable in the colonial home, with the family stomach full, and the reign of want and anxieties virtually ended, than he turns his head from his own affairs to those of the community around him. The prevalence of the municipal system

In municipalities. in Victoria illustrates this characteristic in one of its phases; and the appreciative grasp of self-government afforded by the intensely local character of municipal administration is still better shown in the subdividing spirit that appears even within the circuit of any considerable municipality; such for instance

as Ballarat, Geelong, or Melbourne, which are not content respectively to be embraced as one corporation. Where any feature, natural or artificial, tends to section-making, and to throwing more of a community of feeling into a part than exists for the whole, the smaller section will ever tend to secede, and set up for itself.

In colonies.

The case is to some extent the same with colonies as with municipalities, only that the former are knit together by some other and broader considerations. In colonies the separative movement is ruled mainly by a real segregation of persons and interests, in the grouping of a community, socially and commercially, around a common centre, which centre is generally the seaport of the territory. Hence the importance of a well-selected seaport with reference to its permanent hold upon a large interior country behind it.

Australia and New Zealand compared.

Australia, with the vast interior of its unindented sea-coast, is peculiarly favourable to this great grouping system, and therefore to the rise of one great central city in each colony—an advantage which in the end perhaps much more than repays the defects and disadvantages of such a country otherwise. New Zealand is an instance of the opposite kind. The interior is nowhere remote from the sea, and the colony is consequently distinguished by many small ports, around which are clustered a continually increasing number of subcolonies or provinces. New Zealand possesses no Sydney or Melbourne, nor ever will acquire such proportionately large capitals, saving always as to possible realizations from gold-mining, and such like noncalculable accidents of the future. Such colonies certainly enjoy some early advantages in physical facilities, but such facilities seem unimportant compared with the ultimate superiority of the other kind of colony in all

the powers of wealth, enterprise, and intellect that arise from great and busy centres of population. To condescend to an ordinary business illustration, the one is the bank with a small capital, which can immediately pay a good dividend; the other is the great and commanding institution, which may, indeed, require a few years of forbearance ere it is upon the heels of its smaller brother, but which is eventually in the far foreground, alike as to influence, usefulness, and profit.

Case of Port Phillip.

To apply these principles, let us turn to the case of the Port Phillip District. It is grouped around the seaport of Melbourne, and ardently bent on the privilege of its own government, so soon as it had acquired a certain substantial consideration, and above all, a direct import and export commerce of its own. The first of these positions is the guarantee that the young community can support the separate and self-contained house that it aspires to occupy: the second, the direct external trade, is the grand era, when the youth, as it were, quits his home, and forages in the world for himself. For the first few years the commerce of Port Phillip was almost wholly restricted to Sydney, and the ports of Tasmania. The first ship direct from Britain to Port Phillip, the "Midlothian" of Leith, arrived in the year 1839.* The separation movement, as we have seen, was formally organized by public meeting in the year following.

of Queensland.

Recurring to the recent instance of the separation

* The "Midlothian," Captain Geo. Morison, owned by Messrs. Geo. Young and Co., of Leith, arrived at Port Phillip in February, 1839. Another ship, direct from London, was in sight behind her as she passed the Heads, and thenceforward there was a lively succession of ships, passengers, and merchandise from the chief ports of the mother country.

of Queensland from New South Wales, we have a good practical illustration of a well-chosen seaport, and the circumstances that both limit and extend its range. The sweep of Sydney, seated in commanding dignity upon the finest harbour of the southern world, penetrates already six hundred miles into the Australian interior; but it was unable to retain the little sister Brisbane, and Brisbane's surroundings, six hundred miles to the north. Brisbane had been for a time dragging in dissatisfied humour at the ample skirts of her senior, but is now in perfect contentment (the boundary controversy always excepted), as the centre of her own government, and the capital of her magnificent territory. But again, in her turn, she cannot hope for permanent obedience beyond her own range of attraction. While Brisbane is six hundred miles from Sydney, six hundred miles further, the valley of the Burdekin, and the vast pasturages traversed or skirted last year by Landsborough and M'Kinlay, are already directed to the wide open jaws of the young lion at Port Denison.

Local government beneficial.

As to the good or evil, the desirableness or otherwise, of these constant secessions, by all means let us not discourage them. As to the suitable tests, a reasonable persistence in pursuit, and a unanimity of object, are two that form a very considerable guarantee for any case. There is no boon more grateful or stimulus more effective to a young community than this fresh lease of life under a local and independent government. What Victoria has precisely gained by the change twelve years ago is not to be separatively ascertained from the effects of the wonderful impulsion given by the gold-mines; but we can see what independence has done and is still doing for Queensland. The young

colony is instinct with new life, and since its elevation has been stepping forward at an unwonted and most noble pace. A prosaic mind, in such cases, can see in the future only the sure additions to the cost of government. If Sydney addressed this old wife's argument successively to Port Phillip and Moreton Bay—her southern and her northern wings—when they preferred to fly away from her connection, one must only excuse the efforts at self-preservation, which proverbially catch at every quality of argument. The happiest result is, that the expansion of the one is not the diminution of the other. New South Wales has lost nothing, but rather has conspicuously gained by the accelerated greatness of Victoria and Queensland.

Case of Portland.

More nearly connected with our general subject, in the particular question we are now engaged with, is the case of Portland, in the far west of Victoria, which has projected a new colonial territory, culled from the skirts of two adjacent giants—her own colony and South Australia. With regard to the former, the vigorous proceedings at Melbourne of late years in extending her connections and communications, together with the natural tendency towards centralization in the established capital, are against Portland's projects. This centralizing tendency has greatly increased latterly, as may be inferred, amongst other signs, from the stationary or retrogressive proportions of the population and commerce of Geelong. The colony has poured wealth into Melbourne, and Melbourne has reciprocally projected roads, railways, and telegraphs into and across the colony, in order to group its territory the more securely around herself.

Towards this result she has been powerfully seconded by the prosperity and influence of her great

western outpost of Ballarat. That rising emporium of the inland traffic, the great centre and capital of the gold-fields, is now connected by railway with both Melbourne and Geelong, and gravitates into that far west that is the region of Portland's theories and hopes. It is already the second town of Victoria; for at the census of the year 1861, its rapidly increasing population was just coming up to that of the less progressive, or rather the retrogressive Geelong.*

Ballarat is the Jupiter of the Victoria system. Nor may Geelong, in the strength of her scenic beauties, regret if a slight numerical inferiority should consign her similitudes to the lesser orb of Saturn, the unrivalled of celestial objects. But whatever the rivalry of these two great orbs of Victoria's western system, they are at one in gravitating against the new ambition of the member further west. Portland, the furthest outpost, the cold Neptune of her present order, makes no unwise effort to change her present "comfortless sphere," for the pleasant sunship of a system of her own.

Portland colony as projected.

This projected colony would claim to absorb, in territory, on the South Australian side, about four million acres, or 6,250 square miles, and on the Victorian side, 28,000 square miles. Its area would thus be in all about one-third more than that of Tasmania. The annual revenue, as now contributed by both sections to their respective present governments amounts, in one united total, by a late estimate, to £332,661, and the expenditure to £202,851. Here, in these figures, we have the head and front of offence to outlying districts of colonies—the inadequate expenditure upon such districts,

	1857.	1861.
* Geelong	23,307	22,986
Ballarat	4,971	21,104.

as compared with the income drawn from them. Of course it must always be that if these places possess and use a colonial capital, and its general government, they must help to keep up both. If neither is of much use, or can with advantage be dispensed with, the case has another aspect. This is just the question. As to anything else, the area is quite large enough to contain a thriving colony, and already the income is equal to that of Victoria herself at the time of her independence.*

Portland's project would sweep away a whole third of the present Victoria. We conceive that no mere fanciful ideas would induce the people of so large an area to give up their present identification with one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of our colonies, in order deliberately, as it were, to recommence infancy, and to fight their way over again up the protracted ascent to greatness and consequence. If the case, therefore, is so, by all means give the far west its way. It must have good reasons for such a sacrifice. It has not indeed any half million square miles of squatting runs like Queensland to give an instantaneous race of progress, but it has still some millions of square acres of excellent agricultural land. The change will make itself conspicuous, and will add to Australia another centre of colonial life in addition to those she already possesses.

Case of the Riverine.

Leaving Victoria's domestic threatenings, let us glance at those of New South Wales. "The Riverine" region, comprising the extensive pastoral districts of the Murrumbidgee, the Lachlan, and the Darling, is all in commotion for "separation," and would abstract from allegiance to Sydney no less than 154,000 square

* The Port Phillip District revenue for 1850 was £261,321, and for the following year, in the middle of which the separation took place, £379,324.

miles; or nearly one half the area of the entire colony. The case may be adjudged as one of a mixed order. On the one hand, the whole of the mutinous area is but slightly connected with its present government, excepting in a merely official sense, and holds its communications and transacts its business more and more each year with Victoria. On the other hand it is as yet only one vast squattage, and if it is fitted to be anything higher and more varied in destiny, colonial opinion outside is now rather doubtful of such destinies when entrusted to purely squatting hands.

At a great separation meeting, held at Deniliquin in April, 1863, a resolution was taken to seek from the New South Wales Government, for the present, a separate administration, like that of the late Port Phillip District, without otherwise disrupting the colony. The Government, however, would give no countenance to this demand, and the Riverine has now turned herself to imperial head-quarters, and demands total separation. The case merits attention, for perplexed and dissatisfied Riverina is refused her due share of roads and improvements by her own Government, because the result would simply be a facilitating of the district's commerce with Victoria, while Victoria hesitates also, because that would be expending her money on other people's ground.*

* New South Wales, however, had expressed herself disposed to improve the navigation of the rivers, if Victoria would join in the expense; while in Victoria, a late legislative Committee's Report, of August, 1863, recommends this improvement being carried out, and the colony's acting, "if possible," with New South Wales. But all this, the Riverine would say, is mere bodily food, and not the mental sustenance and dignity of independence. It appears from this document that Victoria's boundary line is the south bank of the Murray, the river itself being within New South Wales. This is an additional mal-arrangement to the fixing of Victoria's boundary so far south.

The latter hints, indeed, in various unofficial ways, that a territorial union with the Riverine would obviate difficulties. But this to the Riverine seems equivalent to trying the fire as an escape from the frying-pan; for both colonies, since the old order of things, with its squatting and nominee supremacies, has passed away under self-government, have taken an ample revenge on old squatting immunities and privileges. In Victoria the annual assessments on the live stock have been very heavily increased. In New South Wales, although the assessment is still moderate, yet in laying every squattage open, under the new land laws, to any purchaser of even a small farm, in territory surveyed or otherwise, the colony has virtually ignored the squatter's existence.

Imperial interests as to Secessions.

To the Imperial authorities at home, every such new colonial existence is the sure precedent of a change from a drowsy indifference to the hearty and demonstrative loyalty that is the pleasing characteristic of our colonies, when put into good spirit, alike by their material prosperity and their cherished self-government. The home authorities, therefore, can afford to turn an encouraging look to these busy efforts of colonial secession, as they are in general so many bonds of Imperial connection. Our younger colonies may present some rude aspects to the outside world, but they are excellent schools of their kind for a very varied discipline, and even—as the later happy Imperial relations with the colonies have served more fully to show, for an active and genial loyalty. When the separate colony has done its part for early progress and social consolidation, the separate system may in turn give way for one of Australian unification. But this is a new subject—that of Federation, or even a closer relation than Federation, to be dealt with in another part of our work.

But a word yet as to these new colonies—this ever-multiplying offspring of the empire. Each successively stands out as a new existence, and forthwith, like the bee or the proverbial ant, it is busy over its destiny to swell the great tide of intercourse, social and commercial, that rolls interminably in either direction, between the mother and her ubiquitous family. When, at brief successive intervals, a new member has been launched into independent life, what, we may curiously ask, are the fruits of the new industrial establishment—what the new or enlarged contributions to purposes of science or art, comfort or subsistence? We may picture the time-honoured figure of our Britannia, seated at the portals of her country, and hailing with the familiar trident the vast colonial fleet in its incessant outward and homeward progress before her. She scans with interest, as we may suppose, the endless budget that is borne daily out and comes daily in; but she is drawn with a special attraction towards those that return her parental salute with the new insignia of a new colony. Here is another and yet another child of her empire, to extend its boundaries, its riches, and its fame.

CHAPTER IX.

THE COLONY OF VICTORIA TO THE TIME OF SELF-GOVERNMENT, 1851—1855.

Constitutional questions—Elections to the Colony's First Legislature—The gold discovery in New South Wales, its incidents and effects—Mr. Hargreaves—"A hundred" of gold—Gold discovered in Victoria: Anderson's Creek, Ballarat, Mount Alexander, Bendigo—General, social, and business disturbance—Influx of population—The Chinese—The convicts from Tasmania—Political questions: Transportation; the League; Convicts Prevention Act; Squatting Question, and Orders in Council; Gold Question, and the Crown Rights—High prices of land and high wages—Public-houses—Licenses at first prohibited on gold-fields—Discontent political and social of gold-miners—Outbreak at Ballarat—Commission of Inquiry, and results—Advent of Self-government.

Political features.

THE Port Phillip District is now the colony of Victoria, and the colonists are none the less alive to the political duties and enjoyments before them, from the circumstance that the Imperial Australian Colonies Act has, amongst other changes, reduced the electoral franchise from a £20 to a £10 rental. By this reduction, the Home and Colonial franchise was assimilated, which was, no doubt, one of the reasons in the case. On other grounds, it was made mainly for the purpose of meeting the case of the squatting interest, the whole body being thus embraced in the franchise by means of the minimum yearly licence fee of £10. Some popular

discussion had antecedently occurred in the colony as to the consistency of British institutions and constitutional principles, with the concession of the franchise to crown tenants. But as the colony could hardly be said to possess political privileges, when its chief interest did not participate in them, and as common sense must go first in everything, this discussion was promptly settled. The reduction of the franchise was otherwise opportune as a gradation towards the "inevitable democracy" of our colonies.

Constitution.

And now approach the sounds of preparation for the first of the colony's elections. There has been no little grumbling in the chief centres of population at the stinted share of political power doled out to them by the electoral arrangements of the Sydney legislature. There are to be thirty members in the Victoria Assembly, of whom twenty are to be elective; and of these twenty, Melbourne, with nearly one-third of the colonial population, has but three. The great proportion of power has been thrown into the thinly-peopled regions, especially where squatting influences predominated, and with such good effect, too, that it is to be feared the Assembly may usually present a clear majority of members, consisting unitedly, of Crown nominees and Crown tenants. This anticipation, indeed, proved correct, and the Imperial arrangements were, in consequence, rendered somewhat illusory, if honestly intended, as they doubtless were, as gradations towards popular government. The position, in the meantime, was further unfortunate in protracting a settlement of the Land Question, and in arousing against the squatting interest a strong popular opposition which, when eventually victorious, has since pressed rather hardly in turn upon its foe. The Imperial authorities had already taken

conservative guarantees of the colonies in retaining the one-third of the nominee element, and it was reasonable to suppose that they had no intention of any further action in the same direction by any electoral manipulation in Australia, such as the local Crown Governments further fortified themselves with.

Elections and politics.

The elections passed off with the pleasant excitement that attends an interesting but novel incident. The interest and the novelty alike conspired for the time to free them from those grosser features of popular elections that are but too soon superadded by partisan experiences and matured arrangements. Party questions were not much defined in the torrent of electoral addresses; in other words, the colonists had not as yet sufficiently studied public affairs to be clear or copious in their political views. There was a strong denouncement against the transportation system to Australia, which was at the time being actively opposed by an Australasian league, in whose doings Tasmania, Victoria, and New South Wales were conspicuous participators. The differences on the squatting privileges had not risen to the height which they shortly afterwards attained when the colony was overspread with additional population poured into it by the attractive influence of the gold-fields. There was everywhere an increased expression of loyalty to the parent state.

The Council assembled in November, 1851,* and

* The House consisted as follows:—*Crown Nominees: Official:* W. Lonsdale, *Col. Secretary;* W. F. Stawell, *Att.-General;* R. Barry, *Sol.-General;* C. H. Ebden, *Auditor-General;* R. W. Pohlman, *Chairman of Court of Requests; Non-official:* A. C. W. Dunlop, C. J. Griffith, W. C. Haines, J. H. Ross, A. Russell; *Elected members for—Normanby,* J. F. Palmer; *Wimmera,* W. F. Splatt; *Gipps Land,* R. Turnbull; *Murray,* F. Murphy; *Loddon,* W. Campbell; *Ripon, etc.,* A. Goldsmith; *Portland,* T. Wilkinson; *Melbourne,*

proceeded with its modest budget of ways and means, based upon the revenues and commerce of the previous year. Already in the first month of the session, the legislators were disturbed by the excitement and noise of the eventful incident that was soon to upset all their budget arrangements. The gold-fields are already a great fact; for, as the young house argues conservatively over the moderate revenue expectations, and doles out the modest expenditure of the original Official Estimates, word is brought that the Mount Alexander escort has entered Melbourne with a ton weight of gold. Who can sit quietly over small things when the horizon around is all portentous of the great? Nevertheless, although the prospect was expansive, it was by no means clear. The working classes had nearly all deserted their customary vocations for the gold-fields; and as the towns were almost empty, trade collapsed, and houses and lands were actually falling in value for want of occupants. Caution was, therefore, commendable; so the Assembly, for the present, voted merely its first and humble estimates. The chief public officers were each awarded salaries of about £600 a year. The Colonial Secretary's superiorities had been emphatically stamped, under the pre-gold ideas, by what was then deemed a surpassing allowance of £900; while the Speaker's dignity and hospitality were both comprised, or rather compressed, within £400, and so on.

First Legislature—the Budget.

W. Westgarth, J. O'Shanassy, J. S. Johnston; *Belfast and Warrnambool*, T. H. Osborne; *N. Bourke*, C. H. Dight, J. T. Smith; *Geelong*, R. Robinson, J. F. Strachan; *Kilmore, etc.*, P. Snodgrass; *S. Bourke*, H. Miller; *Villiers, etc.*, W. Rutledge; *Grant*, J. H. Mercer; *Talbot, etc.*, J. P. Fawkner. Mr. Palmer was elected Speaker without opposition, and Dr. Murphy, Chairman of Committees. The former was afterwards President of the Council under the self-government, and the latter, Speaker of the Assembly.

Increased revenues and expenses.

This scale of pay, and of expenditure generally, was duly voted; but already, in the fast race that had commenced, even while this appropriation was being made, it did not at all clearly appear how, with the constantly rising prices and rates of wages, the money so voted was to accomplish the various purposes for which it was intended. Indeed the votes were found to be quite insufficient long before the time had arrived for the actual distribution of the funds, and large supplementary votes were afterwards found necessary. Happily the public revenues expanded even beyond all the proportions of these new wants. The estimates for the year 1852 were, as we have said, based upon the ascertained results of 1850. The total income of that year had been £261,000, to which amount there had been added for 1852 a moderate allowance by way of increase, as sanctioned by the experience of past progress. But when the eventful year 1852 had rolled away, it was found to have yielded, in place of something short of £400,000 as originally looked for, no less than £1,577,000.

Australian eras.

Those who are addicted to era-making in history, will readily find three great periods in Australia's progress. The first is the age of convictism, the second that of pastoral pursuits, the third that of the gold-fields. The last is undoubtedly the most important, if we are to measure the importance of events to mankind according as they are powerful in agitating society, and bringing together the largest proportions of its masses.

Discovery of gold in New South Wales.

Briefly we may tell once more the story of the Australian gold discovery. In the year 1851, Mr. E. H. Hargreaves, a colonist of New South Wales, announced to the Government of that colony, from actual experience, the existence of the Australian gold-fields.

He had been for several years a practical miner in California, and on returning to the colony had been guided to his great achievement by noticing the physical resemblances between the two countries. The intimation was made in the month of May, but Hargreaves' testing experiment had been made on the 12th of February previous—a memorable day for Australia, when the first gold was washed out of its soil in the business of gold-mining.

But gold had already been discovered, and even gold-fields predicted for Australia; so that Hargreaves' part consisted in his personally pointing out the gold-fields, and thereby causing all that public attention which produced such great results, and which the voice of science alone had failed to arouse. Count Strzelecki had detected gold in the Australian Alps so early as the year 1839, and the Rev. W. B. Clark, of New South Wales, appears to have been familiar with its existence ten years before Hargreaves' announcement. The intimations of Sir R. I. Murchison were still later in date, but much more striking, because made at many thousand miles distance from the actual scene, and in entire ignorance of preceding observations. In the year 1844, and at several subsequent periods, Sir Roderick pointed out the similarity of the conditions between the East Australian mountain range and the Ural of Russia, and he thus inferred the existence of those gold-fields that, seven years afterwards, were personally pointed out by Hargreaves. However we may distribute the merits of this discovery, it has given truly a new era and a new destiny to Australia.*

Effects.

An extraordinary rush commenced to the new gold-fields so soon as their discovery was made known. The

* See further remarks on this subject at the end of Chap. xv.

situation was about thirty-five miles beyond Bathurst, a small quiet interior town of New South Wales, which was soon converted into an uproarious centre of diggers' and diggings' business. But the soil had no teeming treasures to be washed out by every raw and impatient hand that first attempted gold-digging. Consequently almost every one was disappointed, and the road that was thronged with arriving diggers soon presented a counter-stream of departures. The vexation was indeed of so lively a character that Mr. Hargreaves' merits would probably have been settled after a very summary fashion, had he by any untoward accident fallen into the hands of the returning crowd. In fact, he had himself some experience of what in such a case might have been his fate; for when travelling on one occasion, in a happy *incognito*, from Sydney to Bathurst he heard his name repeatedly associated with very threatening projects of vengeance.

A cwt. of gold.

But disappointment in those who had tried the gold-fields had little effect on those who had not. There was a charm associated with the subject that outlived all adverse reports. There was ever about it the appearance of a great lottery of incalculable possibilities. This view of the case was greatly promoted by an event that occurred at an early stage of the mining era. In the month of July, a shepherd, who was an aboriginal native, employed on the sheep-station of a colonist, came upon nearly a hundred weight of pure gold, contained in a small mass of quartz that lay partly cropping out from the surface of the ground. This circumstance gave a fresh impulse to gold-mining, and attracted largely the attention of the neighbouring colonies, whose population turned their steps with accelerated pace towards the scenes so favoured by fortune.

Thus passed the first two or three months of Australian gold-digging. Victoria was as yet entirely ignorant of the great treasures that lay hidden in her soil. There had been, indeed, some rumours even as far back as two years before Hargreaves' intimation, and gold was reported as having been found in March, 1850, at Clunes, a station of the interior. As this place was afterwards occupied as a gold-field, the rumour had probably originated in fact. But whether so or not, this and all other reports had altogether died away at the advent of Hargreaves. The Victoria colonists were now urged into activity, as well to arrest the outflow of the population as to find the gold, for hundreds were pressing forward both by sea and land for the northern colony. At a public meeting, held in Melbourne on the subject, a committee of some of the principal citizens, chosen on the occasion, offered a reward of £200 to any one who should discover an available gold-field within the limits of Victoria. "Prospecting," to use the new and conveniently distinctive word imported from California, went on vigorously. The tide of emigration was partially checked, and hope was ever sustained by the reports that were successively floated down from the interior at nearly all points of the compass. Effect in Victoria.

Faith and numbers, which have been instrumental to many other discoveries, at length found the gold. In August, Anderson's Creek, a short distance to the eastward of Melbourne, was known as a gold-field. It seems to have been the first found of these far-famed industrial areas of Victoria, but was of such limited extent and productiveness as to have been afterwards almost forgotten. The Customs' records of the colony show that during that month eighteen ounces of gold were exported. These were the first fruits of the new voca- Gold in Victoria.

tion, and most probably the produce of this earliest of the gold-fields.

Ballarat—Mount Alexander.

But the great harvest was close at hand. In September, Ballarat was announced, gold having been first found there on the 8th of that month. This, the richest gold-field, perhaps, that the world has ever known, was already at the outset so promising, that ere the first month expired, the Colonial Government had established the armed escort service for the safe conveyance of the gold to the shipping ports of Melbourne and Geelong. Nearly ten thousand diggers, of all classes of society, who had rushed promiscuously to the attractive scene, were upon and around the famous "Golden Point," the original nucleus of Ballarat mining. But hardly was this miscellaneous crowd settled at work, ere it commenced shelving off to Mount Alexander, which rumour proclaimed to be a still richer gold-field. In October and November, Mount Alexander lives in a blaze of predominant fame, but is in turn dimmed by the superior lustre of Bendigo, which made good its pre-eminence during several subsequent years.

Bendigo.

Bendigo was indeed a wonder of its day, and the extent and activity of the industrial field it presented at this early time have hardly since been exceeded in the colony. In the middle of 1852, the winter time of the antipodes, there were reported, no doubt with some exaggeration, to be fifty thousand diggers along the Bendigo Creek. The great and sudden demand for food and other necessaries, was met with difficulty under the double drawback of the state of the roads and the state of the labour market. Prices rose in a due proportion, until the price at length secured the supply. Two thousand carts and drays, and other vehicles that could be pressed into service, were said to be simul-

taneously toiling along the roads to the different gold-fields.

Bendigo was one hundred miles distant from Melbourne, and £1 per ton per mile and upwards were the rates of carriage of the day. The local dealer must have his profit as well as the carrier; so that a ton of flour, which cost £25 at Melbourne, had risen to £200 ere it reached the hungry consumer at Bendigo. Six months of such expenses would represent a sum well nigh sufficient for bridging the two places by a railway; and, accordingly, the Melbourne, Mount Alexander, and Murray River Railway is projected as one among the many schemes and doings of this busy year.* Cost of transport; railways.

These difficulties from within the colony were fully matched by the difficulties from without. The repute of the gold-fields had promptly brought a fleet of shipping to Hobson's Bay, with supplies adequate to all the wants of the expanding community. But after reaching this anchorage, these supplies were yet very far indeed from being at their destination; for the discharging of the cargoes into lighters, the eight miles of river navigation that still remained, and the second discharge at Melbourne, or as near to Melbourne as the crowded wharves and the state of their approaches would permit, were often a business as protracted and as costly as all the previous voyage from the antipodes. This state of things stimulated into existence the Melbourne

* Originally projected by Mr. John Trenchard, solicitor, Melbourne, and commenced by a joint-stock company. Several arrangements for raising the requisite capital in London having been thwarted by the monetary pressure attending the Russian war, the company's interests were purchased, and their project carried out, by the Victoria Government. This is the great central railway line of the colony, and is on the eve of entire completion.

and Hobson's Bay Railway, with its short straight line of less than two miles, running from Melbourne into the Bay. Shortly afterwards, the second and rival line, proceeding along the north bank of the Yarra to Williamstown, was projected. But years of struggle and difficulty had elapsed ere either of these facilities had come to the rescue.

Rush to the goldfields.

The first effects of the gold-mines produced, as we have said the curiously abnormal effect of reducing the value of real property. In and around Melbourne and Geelong houses and lands were for a time very difficult to be disposed of, and were actually falling to lower prices and rentals. There was for the moment too much reason for this effect. In the general impatience to be off to the gold-fields, and to provide an adequate "swag" for the occasion, many were pressing "their little all" upon the market, glad to take anything they could get. But this sudden depression soon passed away, and a noble harvest was reaped by all those who, having faith in the ultimate effects of gold, laid out their money upon the tempting bargains of that transition interval.

Changes of prices.

But if one kind of property fell in value at the first, another kind took the opposite course. Various articles of merchandise sprung at once into unwonted prices, as speculators came in and cleared and recleared the limited market. Beer and spirits went up to double and treble rates. Flour took a rapid rise from £25 to £45 per ton, but with proverbial inconstancy went down again to £16, and finally took, with comparative steadiness, an intermediate range. There was an extraordinary pressure of demand for horse food, so that a bushel of oats brought nearly the old price of an entire quarter, while hay rose in like proportion. The fitful

market, jumping hither and thither in its wide quotations, showed all sorts of curious and unusual relations of price; for at one time oats were dearer, weight for weight, than oatmeal, and hay than the finest flour. Canvas was everywhere bought up at two or three prices for tarpaulings to endless relays of carts and drays, and for tents to the ten thousands at the mines. The towns were alive with new industries, and unheard-of wages were being earned at cradle-making and other novel occupations introduced for the gold-fields. The first cargoes of American goods—mining tools, stout cheap furniture, and that world of small ware called "notions," brought fabulous prices and profits. But as the outside world abounded with all these goods, the colony soon abounded with them too, for importation was indefatigable, and as usual ended in a glut. Those kinds of colonial property that could not be thus competed with from outside, enjoyed a longer career in the market. When many kinds of imported goods were selling below cost price, the shops and warehouses that contained them were maintaining a tenfold value, and the colonial land allotments were still on the rise, after reaching in many cases twenty, fifty, and even one hundred times the prices that were current before the exciting days of gold-mining.

Influx of people.

The first great accession of population came, of course, from the adjacent colonies. The earlier news from Ballarat had been fairly resisted by the *vis inertiæ* in favour of home; but the reports from Mount Alexander were irresistible. Tasmania and South Australia streamed off to Victoria. The rich copper mines of the latter neighbour, including the great Burra Burra, a far more profitable field than any gold mine, could not restrain the people. This swelling tide of arrivals com-

menced in December. In October following, the response to Mount Alexander and Bendigo was received from Britain in hundreds of ships and cargoes, and ten thousands of emigrants. For a considerable time thenceforward the monthly immigration amounted usually to from 10,000 to 20,000 persons. Melbourne seemed pervaded by one continuous fair that extended almost alike to all its streets. The original citizens, a kind of antediluvian handful of humanity, were everywhere elbowed off their old familiar and peaceful pathways, or swept indistinguishably along in the flood of a new world.

Various nationalities.

Strange, indeed, were many of these new accessions. The eccentricities of the occasion might have passed all but unnoticed, as they dribbled in handfuls through the crowds of Melbourne or along the great highways, but they were concentrated in full force at the gold-fields. Around these great foci were promptly gathered the representatives of the four quarters of the world. Of the nine hundred languages that Mr. Max Müller tells us are simultaneously spoken over our globe, Victoria, by a sudden raid as it were among them, had captured no inconsiderable proportion. In many a busy and diversified scene, within the compass of a single square mile of her territory, might be heard the tongues of nearly all European nations, as well as the varied intonations of Anglo-America, a substantial detachment of Asiatic speech, a sprinkling of Polynesian, and even a representation of the African; for these negroes that we see here and there, "surfacing" and "tailing," if they diversify their mother-tongues by an attempt at English, it is surely in a dialect that is all their own.

Chinese.

Pre-eminently conspicuous, both in numbers and in the foreign character they imparted to the scene, were

the Chinese, who, about two years after Ballarat and the sister gold-fields were published to the world, began to arrive by thousands, and swarmed like locusts at the chief mines. They have called up already a social and political problem in Australia. Our ubiquitous countrymen, even if they are not pressed by the equities of reciprocity, nor bound to their fellow-men by the ties of treaties and commerce, are still connected by the bonds of our common humanity, and by those liberal and generous sentiments that would make any system of compulsory exclusion a very reluctant consideration. Nevertheless, facts are often in the face of the finest feelings. The proportions of the Chinese immigration threatened far to exceed all the usual experiences of international intercourse. Twenty-five thousand Chinamen were now busy amongst the thickest of the colonial population, and they reported that many more were expected to follow them. Victoria had somewhat of the disconcerted feeling that the mother-country might experience on learning that a couple of millions or so of the dusky sons of Confucius had determinedly seated themselves among the industrial hives of York and Lancashire. The Legislature thereupon passed some stringently restrictive enactments, which have doubtless had the effect of at least preventing the overwhelming tide that was at first anticipated; and as the public alarm has in great measure ceased, the restrictions have since been partially removed, and perhaps may eventually be entirely done away with. Even Chinamen may have already discovered that gold-mining has its dark as well as its bright side, and that there are no great profits, and assuredly but few other attractions for them in Victoria.

But there was a visitation of a much more serious

Inflow of convicts.

character, and from a quarter much nearer home. The convict population of Tasmania flowed across Bass's Strait as from an open jail. Many of this class were "free by servitude," and not much the better for that; others preferred the quicker process of making themselves free, and they succeeded in getting off with the crowd; while a third section consisted of "conditional pardon" men, the condition being that they had the liberty of the world provided they did not return to Britain, and the practical result being that they all went straight to Victoria. The latter colony has presently something to say on this conditional pardon system, by which men who were deemed unfit for England were yet considered quite suitable for colonies. The Tasmanian Government, hampered by altogether too large a flock of these goats, had gladly helped them off to the rich and diversified pastures of Victoria, with some feeling of assurance that, while they must not think of returning to England, they never would dream of re-appearing in poor Tasmania.

Social difficulties.

Meanwhile how fared society in Victoria, and those quiet but prosperous pursuits that had kept their steady course prior to all this uproar of gold-digging? In truth, society fared but indifferently, for discomfort and inconvenience reigned paramount throughout the scene of domestic and trading life. Various kinds of business must for a time be either curtailed or given up, or the colonists must divert their attention entirely to new pursuits. Every necessary of life, from food and clothing to servants and house-room, had gone up to twice and four times, nay, with rents it was even ten times, the old rates; so that the ordinary incomes of previous days were now wholly insufficient. But withal, there was one solid consolation, and it was participated in by

so many that it occasioned a general joyousness over the social surface. No one that had a house or a plot of ground but found himself almost at once transferred to a position of independence or wealth. The amount that formerly represented the total value had now become the mere yearly rental, and in many instances of suburban property the value was increased by more than even one hundred-fold.

Transportation Question.

Let us return to the Legislature. One of the most prominent public questions of the time was that of transportation. The system had now culminated in evils of the most intolerable kind to the colonists, who could not perambulate their gold-fields, travel on their highways, or even venture beyond the bounds of their capital, without the constant fear of bush-rangers, and of the experience of crimes the most odious and atrocious that human depravity could commit. The colonists were additionally aroused by the aspect of quiet unconcern on the part of the Home Government and public as to any interests but their own in this important question. Australia, these latter said, must now, with her absorbing gold-fields, need the labour of the convicts more than ever; but at any rate Britain cannot keep these bad people within her own bosom, and where can they be sent if not to Australia?

Anti-Transportation League.

But the anti-transportation movement had anticipated the gold discovery. An Australian league had been already formed in the previous year. It had emanated from Tasmania, and it embraced in particular that colony, Victoria, and New South Wales. The object of the association was to use every influence and means permissible by the laws for putting an end to the system of sending British criminals to Australia; and large sums of money were subscribed by the various colonists

towards carrying out this purpose.* In the opinion of the colonists, the gold discoveries had brought a crisis that must at once terminate this protracted question in the colonists' favour; for, while on the one hand, Victoria was overrun by atrocious criminals, the fruit, not of her own society, but of that of the mother country, on the other, that mother country, it was not to be supposed, could ever dream of continuing to hold out golden Australia and its vicinities as places of criminal transportation.

Convicts' Prevention Act.

The evil to Victoria was of such alarming magnitude that it must be checked by no delicate hand. As to further petitions and remonstrances to the Home authorities, there was no longer time for such circuitous procedure. The character of crime in the colony had assumed a most startling reality, as the graver criminals were almost all "old hands" in the criminal sense of the words—the desperadoes and thorough-paced villains of Van Diemen's Land and Botany Bay associations, who had "left their country for their country's good." Something, therefore, must be done forthwith in order to arrest further convict influx from Tasmania, and to cut off from the authorities there the mischievous resource of the conditional pardon system. From all these considerations the Legislature framed and passed the "Convicts' Prevention Act" of the year 1852, a measure that has attracted some attention, both from the liberty it takes with principles of ordinary British

* The leaders in this important and successful movement were the Rev. John West, an Independent clergyman of energy and ability, and Mr. Weston, an estimable private colonist. The former has since found a congenial field in the editorship of the "Sydney Morning Herald," the latter has occupied the position of premier of his colony under the new system.

law, and from the abnormal incidents of the day to which it owed its existence.*

This Act ordained, in effect, that no holder of a pardon of any kind, other than a perfectly free pardon, could be admitted to Victoria any more than to England; and also that all persons arriving from Tasmania must prove themselves to be free, otherwise they would be assumed to be convict, and be treated accordingly; that is, they would either be punished on the spot, or returned to the colony whence they came. The penalties for infringement were most severe. The Act, after some sparring between the members and the Crown officers in the Legislature, (the latter, however, agreeing to all the main provisions), was sanctioned by the Governor, Mr. La Trobe, whose views and feelings seem to have been quite those of the colonists, and came at once into operation.

Refused at home; but re-enacted.

The subsequent history of this Act exemplifies other cases where the Imperial and the Colonial mind have not held the same views. The measure was disapproved of at home, on the ground of its interference with the royal prerogative of pardon—in allusion to the summary procedure with the conditional pardons; and it was refused the royal sanction until certain alterations had been effected. The next year the Colonial Government, loyal to Imperial wishes, introduced a superseding measure with the objectionable parts left

* The first conception, and the original draft of this measure are due to the late Mr. W. Kerr; one of the aldermen, and afterwards the town-clerk of Melbourne, one to whom the colony was indebted for long-continued and consistent services in the anti-transportation cause. The measure was a well conceived mode of meeting the colony's emergency, and it was only on this account that it passed, with but slight alteration, the official ordeal of the able Attorney-General of the day.

out; but the Legislature, not less loyal to the social interests under its care, restored the omissions, and so maintained the Act. The governor, who held rather a difficult position, reserved the royal assent. The colony was not to be defeated. The new law went on for the two years' term provided in such cases, and it has gone on ever since. Indeed, its scope has latterly been extended, so as to exclude all who had been convicts, until an interval of three years after receiving their pardons. South Australia, some years afterwards, adopted this Act, and still later it was enacted at the Cape of Good Hope. The measure, although ostensibly so hostile to Tasmania, was regarded by her people generally as a matter of necessity, and as it served to supply a striking illustration of the evils caused by the convict system, it also served Tasmania, as well as the other colonies, in the general war that was being waged on the question with the Home Government.

Squatting Question.

The squatting question was another that early broke forth in the Assembly, and with all the more asperity of party feeling from the circumstance that the unequal electoral arrangements, in conjunction with the nominee element in the House, took away all the reasonable political predominance that ought to reside in the main body of the public under representative institutions. A few years later, when the tables were entirely turned in this respect, the squatting interests were far less considerately dealt with, than would have been the case on the occasion of this earlier opposition. The great point with the non-squatting public was that the colonial lands should be sold in such greatly-increased quantities as might be adequate to the new circumstances, and such as to meet the wants of the

arriving multitudes from outside, and of the fortunate miners and traders within. The squatting body were in possession, and although in possession for pastoral purposes only, and in such a slight way as still left the country all but empty and unused, yet some difficulty was experienced in dealing with the squatting privileges, conceded as they were at a time when such emergencies as the present had never been anticipated. Meanwhile, the superfluous funds of the colonists, which might have been largely directed to the purchase of the waste lands, and so might have led to an extensive and permanent settlement of the interior country, were either diverted into a course of riotous speculation over such comparatively small supplies of land as did come into the market; or, as in too many instances, they were squandered in the numerous public-houses. If some of the people were more than usually prudent, they re-emigrated from the unsatisfactory scene to find elsewhere a pleasanter home, or a place where their presence was more valued, and their wants were more attended to. Victoria thus lost many chances which might have given her afterwards a greater social breadth and steadiness.

"Orders in Council."

The squatters, on the other hand, were not without a case, and it is to little purpose to blame them for doing what every one else would have done in a like position. Doubtless, like others, they wished well to the colony; only they did not wish this welfare to be at their special expense. A few years before, when no one dreamed of Victorian gold-fields, or of a quiet pastoral colony doubling its population in twelve months, this body obtained certain privileges, comprised in what were concisely termed "The Orders in Council," so-called, because "The Queen in Council" had issued

the orders and regulations, having previously been empowered by Act of Parliament to do so. These privileges, issued in 1847, began now to assume a very threatening character of obstruction to the colony's progress. They were understood, for instance, to confer fourteen years' leases upon such of the squatters as were in occupation over all the "unsettled territory," or the part of the colony beyond the counties, and consisting of about half of the entire area. Although the occupation was only for pastoral uses, that is, for the use of the natural grasses, yet there seemed to be an exclusive possession given for that long interval. The most of the other half, too, was tied up in some way that had a confusing effect in the present conjuncture; and chiefly in this respect, that both the "unsettled" and the "intermediate" districts (the latter being the country within the counties, excepting a "settled" area around the chief towns and along certain rivers), were subject to the "pre-emptive rights" of the respective occupying squatters. In other words, wherever and whenever it was possible to sell land within the above areas, the squatter who was in pastoral occupation had a pre-emptive right if he chose to exercise it.

Disputed interpretation.

There could never have been an intention in the authorities, Home or Colonial, that the squatting privileges should ever interfere with the substantial and permanent settlement of the country, and certain general phrases of "the orders" seem to justify this view. These phrases, however, were not quite distinct, and were held by the squatters to be qualified, or defined differently, by other parts of the orders. As to intentions, said the squatters, they are a mere mist; there is a printed document, which is our law, and we will stand to it. The law and the document let it be, re-

sponded the opposition; and forthwith a rather hazy compilation, prepared twelve thousand miles from the locality of its subject, became a target for the joint shafts of local experience and legal acumen, urged alike by hostile hands. The pre-emptive right, under the new crucible, melted into nothing, because the lands were never to be sold, pre-emptively or otherwise, under their value. The battle raged mainly around the fourteen years' lease. Does it exclude the public, other than the squatters, from all purchasing; and do the words, "leases of not exceeding fourteen years," for such is the wording, mean the full term of fourteen years? In strict law, said the opposition, they mean fourteen years just as much as fourteen hours. "But then the intention," exclaimed the squatter. "Ah! that mist of an intention," responded the opposition; "let us keep to the law and the printed document." Like Ephraim Jenkinson's "cosmogony," in the "Vicar of Wakefield," intentions come this second time upon the scene decidedly *mal-à-propos*. Besides, it transpired, in the course of the argument, that the first draft of the Act on which orders were based contained the absolute fourteen years, a sentence which was afterwards altered into "not exceeding fourteen years."

Opportunity lost.

While the discussion went thus see-saw, thousands in suspense waited and hoped. The inpouring crowd, unable to find shelter within Melbourne, overflowed into "Canvastown," an *impromptu* creation outside, where from six to eight thousand persons, the daily balance, as it were, of an incessant ebb and flow, strove to exist amidst vexatious expense and discomfort. Everything they had need of was scarce and dear, but scarcest and dearest were those vegetable products, necessities of the climate, which the virgin soil of the

unused and unoccupied waste of the colony around them would have promptly thrown up in response to the slightest efforts. But it was all speculation and not cultivation with the fortunate few who possessed land. The price of a cabbage at last culminated at two shillings and sixpence in Canvastown, and five shillings at the gold-fields. A bold and decided Government might have secured immortality of fame in such an emergency; and in taking a step of obvious necessity and advantage, might have safely left consequences and common sense to argue at will. A million or two of extra acres promptly sold at this crisis would have had almost incalculable results to the colony; and if the money derived from this land had been held "*pendente lite*" for squatting compensation, or even been thrown into the sea, the loss could have been as nothing compared to the advantage of so wholesale a settlement of the territory. Neither this course, however, nor any other of an adequate character was taken. The squatters would not yield, the popular party in the Assembly were always outvoted, the Governor hesitated to act; and so, between all three, the colony's opportunities fell to the ground.

Home solution of "the Orders."

Mr. La Trobe adopted the course of referring the Orders to the interpretation of the Colonial Office at home. There, truly, no difficulties were found in the case, and the facile sweep of the Duke of Newcastle went through every obstacle that seemed in the way of the general interests of the colony, to the horror of the disconcerted squatting body, who had been freely accusing the more considerate colonists of tendencies towards repudiation, such as would not, they confidently asserted, be dreamt of in the mother country. But already the pressure of the case had almost passed

away, and the land-buying and land-speculating mania had culminated, and begun to decline.

The colonial authorities, however, were now relieved of any fears as to taking action on the colony's behalf whenever required. They had from the first succeeded in bringing to some practical bearing the case between the squatters and the gold-miners—a case of no small difficulty; for a gold-field, with all its crowds and its rowdy incidents, was often little short of destruction to the surrounding or adjacent squatters. But by the threat of withholding the depasturing licence, they had compelled the squatters to afford the necessary space upon any auriferous areas of their wide domains, and to tolerate all ingress and egress to the gold-fields on the part of the miners and their commerce. The squatter might the less grudge these encroachments, as he in general shared both largely and profitably in that commerce with his live stock. The authorities now further professed to take also what lands were really wanted for sale. Still the squatting body possessed a powerful and repressive influence, and it was besides at one purpose with the Government party in anti-democratic leanings. The supply of land and the discussion of the land question continued more or less under pressure. Only after the inauguration of self-government, when the colonial public were more equally represented, was the land question fairly discussed on its merits with reference to its whole bearings. The fourteen years' leases were never actually issued, but a certain deference to the probable intention of the orders delayed a complete alteration of land policy until that term had expired in 1862. The land act of that year will be alluded to in its place.

A third great question of the time, and one that

Crown rights to the gold.

ramified into several bearings, was the alleged right of the crown to the gold, and to all its belongings in the way of digging licences and regulations. In other words, the irresponsible Colonial Government, and not the Colonial Legislature, held an almost unlimited control over all the civil interests and the daily vocation of one half of the population. Gold was of old a royal metal, and even upon the sold land it was all claimable by the crown, much more on the crown's own unalienated territory. The Government and the nominee part of the legislature, generally, took this view, while the rest of the House argued for the opposite side on behalf of the colonial public, but less from any difference about fact and old black letter as to "the royal metal," than from general constitutional analogies. The running fight maintained for a time between the two parties need not now be dilated upon. A similar constitutional opposition had previously arisen at Sydney from like causes, and the junior assembly at Melbourne followed the example of its senior. When the Government applied for greater amounts than usual, and for supplementary votes for the public service, as the result of this all-disturbing gold, they were reminded by the elective part of the assembly that the gold was the cause of large sums coming into the hands of the executive, which sums were collected and distributed without reference to the representatives. If, therefore, as the effect of the gold, more money were wanted for the public service, the authorities must supplement their wants from the ample sum that the gold was yielding them; unless, indeed, they were disposed to make common cause with the House by throwing this money into the ordinary revenue that was under the Assembly's control.

Again, when a code of criminal legislation for the gold-fields became necessary, and was duly presented for the Assembly's sanction, that body, again seizing upon incidental opportunities, refused to discuss the proposed enactments, unless the civil legislation of the gold-fields—the mining licences, and other regulations, held by the Government to be exclusively their own affairs—were also submitted and approved of.

Imperial concession of the gold.

So went the fight. All parties were new at legislation and political warfare, a consideration which perhaps helped the good temper and good will that were on the whole conspicuous throughout. Mr. La Trobe enhanced this good feeling by agreeing to pay the extra and supplementary amounts out of the Crown's gold-fields' revenue. The Legislature's appeal on the gold question went to the Imperial authorities, and it was backed, or rather preceded, by a like missive from New South Wales. The reply received from Sir John Pakington, who then administered the Colonial Office, was of the most cordial description, and his frank surrender to the Legislature of the whole administration and revenues of the gold-fields was especially appreciated and welcomed after the incessant preceding warfare.

Great rise in price of land, etc.

While the Legislature was thus active over an interval comprising the first two years of gold-mining, the colony was assuming an extraordinary aspect, socially and commercially. Immense fortunes were being made all over the visible surface of society. Absentee colonists, who came rushing back from England in anxious response to the earliest news about the effects of the gold-fields, expecting to find their properties tenantless and themselves destitute, ascertained on the contrary that they were all of a sudden richer than "all the dreams of avarice" had ever led them to anticipate.

On reaching the Port Phillip Heads, they learned that Flinders, Collins, and Bourke Streets, instead of being deserted, were alive with all the world's nationalities, and that the average price of the frontages of these thoroughfares had gone up to one hundred guineas a foot. By the time the happy owners of some of these frontages had passed through the protracted process of getting themselves and effects on shore, and into some kind of lodging accommodation, the frontages had gone up twenty per cent. higher. Ere most of our surprised and agitated party could decide what to do, there was a still further rise; and as indecision bore such happy fruits, no doubt there were many who indefinitely prolonged such profitable prostration. Weeks and months passed, and prices still went up; and when it was known that a colonist of the very shrewdest stamp had given seven hundred guineas a foot for a frontage in one of the chief streets, and that too in spite of some sort of buildings on the ground that might even interfere with and delay the palatial conceptions of the moment, and were therefore almost tantamount to a drawback, every thing in Victoria seemed under a charm, so that the mere making of money was one of the most easy and unanxious concerns of human life.

And wages, etc.

Money lightly made and wisely spent does not make a logical sentence in our experience. There was high revel held on every side, with a small disposition to work, and a high scale of pay for the little that was done. Wages touched the extreme point of £2 per day for the kinds of skilled labour most in request, such as those of masons, and carpenters for house-building purposes. The gold-fields were at this time extraordinarily productive to the stout arms of the working classes, who, in those early muscular days of the art of digging,

carried off on all sides the lion's share. Everywhere large sums fell into unwonted hands, and chafed in unaccustomed pockets.

Public-houses.

If unremitted industry existed nowhere else about this time, it was found at least in the public-house. The climate is a thirsty one, and the other circumstances of the case gave a notable proclivity towards the tap. At every street corner or road conjunction where a stance and a licence were procurable, a public-house "broke forth," and it presently swarmed with an uncleanly crowd, whose washing attentions were all directed to the inner man. The magistrates were perplexed whether to restrain the number of these licensed resorts, or to break down an odious and invidious monopoly that resulted in large uncontrollable gatherings of vice and profanity, where the mere indulgence in alcoholic drinks became an evil of comparatively secondary consideration. There the varied earnings of thousands were promptly engulphed. But if they complained at the time of scant value for their money; if the publican's profits were too great, or his measures too small; if, in the haziness of the hour, they could not tell whether they paid three prices for the one thing, or three times over the one price; this was all in the votary's favour at the end, when, in the quiet retrospect of more sober times, he found that, although the fortunes were all gone, some of the health and constitution still remained.

No licences at first to gold-fields.

A ray of pleasant sunshine breaks into the darkness of this scene. The Government, with a happy boldness under circumstances of such unusual character, decided to refuse the issue of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors on the gold-fields. The good effects were most striking. "Sly grog-selling" could not of

course be altogether put down, but the law was adequate to restrain almost, or indeed altogether, every external indication of excess. While Melbourne and the highways swarmed with drunken revellers, intoxication was the rarest of spectacles at the gold-fields; and many regrets were expressed that the whole colony had not been similarly guaranteed, as it were, against extensive self-injury amidst the continuous riot and extravagance of the first years of gold-mining.

But this salutary restriction, so beneficial for the gold-fields, was, after a time, abolished. "The publican interest," one of portentous strength in these days, bore incessantly both on government and legislature, to withdraw the barriers of temperance from so tempting a world of profit. It may be admitted, however, that when general licensing was resumed, after more than two years' interval, the worst dangers had in great measure passed away, for the novelty and the extravagance of the case were alike gone, and people, as they were making money less easily, were disposed to spend it less foolishly.

Public-house monopoly and profits.

"About the same time a pressure of a different kind was brought into operation—a pressure upon the licensing bench of magistrates against the public-house monopoly that resulted from their restricted issue of licences. A public-house had become a sort of unfathomable abyss of fortune, alike for landlord and tenant. From £1000 to £5000 a year of rental would be freely tendered for houses of an appearance utterly incompatible with such sums of money. But the explanation was that three-fourths, or even a still larger proportion, of such rents formed the consideration for the goodwill; while the goodwill was stated to consist in the established or understood practice of the bench to

continue the licence to the house or to the stance during the good behaviour of its occupant. The bench, too, was known to be labouring in the path of restriction. The magistrates had before their eyes the use of the hotel and the abuse of the public-house; and the combined case assumed the aspect of a necessary evil, which they must endeavour by all means to keep within the minimum of extent. Rents and goodwills consequently went up in the market at a lively pace. Many a fortune was made over the tap in a couple of years, and even in half that time by one who was smart at all the branches of his trade. A country publican near the gold-fields was reported to be clearing £40,000 a year, and that, too, in a sort of defiance of all the customary persuasiveness of hotel practice, by giving his house the repelling title of the "Porcupine."

Ruinous reaction.

The publicans, in short, were an order of princes; and the bench, not altogether satisfied with this as a result of their policy, and besieged incessantly by the envious, unlicensed world, began to relax their strictness. Forthwith there was a general rush as into the very arms of fortune, and new houses everywhere arose in response to a new stream of licences. At the same time the colony was, from other causes, entering upon a more sober and orderly course. The public-house market was, therefore, altogether overdone by two concurrent circumstances, namely, an additional supply and a diminishing demand. The great crash that followed made its conspicuous commencement in the year 1854. Indeed the crash that reigned in that year was not confined to publicans, and the spirit-merchants who supplied them, but pervaded the whole trading community, many of whom, if not themselves speculating in lands and houses far beyond their means, and trading to

the very outside of their tether, were yet connected with those who were, and too often suffered accordingly.

Discontent on gold-fields.

Let us now turn to the consideration of the gold-fields, where about this time an incident of a rather alarming appearance occurred. This was the civil outbreak that happened at the great gold-field of Ballarat towards the end of the year 1854. The gold-fields by this time comprised by far the most important interest in the colony, more than half of the population being connected with them. A growl of complaint from this miscellaneous mass of people had scarcely ever ceased to be emitted from the first, and this ominous noise had been gradually increasing in loudness and sharpness, under an accumulating variety of evils. Some of these evils, so far at least as the authorities were concerned, were irremediable, such as the discomfort of digging life, and the precariousness of its results; both of these adverse features having been aggravated by the circumstance of a scanty rainfall in the year 1854, when the yield of gold was in consequence unusually small. Other evils seemed to admit of remedy, and the colonial government received plentiful blame at the hands of the diggings' community in regard to them.

Causes.

There was, indeed, much substantial ground for these complaints. A vast irregular society had been suddenly called up throughout the colony, and the Government, somewhat perplexed how to deal with it, had been fain to let the difficulty solve itself by doing nothing; that is to say, although they had appointed paid officers and paid magistrates, who went through a round of duties, and with especial strictness, that of collecting the gold-mining licence fee of thirty shillings

monthly, as well as the other Government dues, yet they had never taken any steps to make the gold-fields' population, socially and politically, a part of the colony. There was no arrangement for a mining franchise and a gold-fields' representation, and no social *status*, even by the simple and usual expedient of graduating the people to the Government by enrolling the more respectable of the great mining community as local justices of the peace. This state of things had lasted three years, and it was greatly aggravated by the vain efforts of the colonists to induce the hesitating Government to sell adequate quantities of the public lands. Many a digger longed for a few adjacent acres, on which he might rear a home and plant a garden or potato-field of his own, and for such a rare luxury he would willingly have exchanged the tin pannikin or pickle-bottle full of gold that lay concealed in a corner of his tent, and that represented the last six months of his mining toils.

Ballarat outbreak.

Discontent centred itself in the question of the monthly licence fee, as this was a subject on which a demonstration could be most effectually made. The Government had tried some palliatives in the licence difficulty, and by allowing a discount on prepayments for longer terms than a month had hoped to supersede many of the collector's visits, and so diminish the occasions for hostile manifestations. These efforts had not been successful. The Ballarat riot took its more immediate rise from one of the "raids" upon the diggers for the obnoxious licence money. Upon the first serious threatenings of disturbance, a party of military were sent up from Melbourne, who, on arrival, were confronted by a stockade erected by the rioters on the famous Bakery Hill. At early dawn of the 3rd

December, 1854, this place was stormed and taken, not without loss of life on both sides; and thus this very exceptional and unhappy colonial occurrence came to an end.

Commission of Inquiry.

The new governor, Sir Charles Hotham, had arrived about six months previously, and he was not long in discovering that he had fallen heir to a considerable amount of troubles. Aware of the serious aspects of the Ballarat case, and of the gold-fields generally, he had already, some weeks before the outbreak, projected the appointment of a commission for the purpose of inquiring into and reporting on the state of the mining districts. This Commission had hardly been constituted ere the intelligence of the outbreak reached Melbourne, and showed to its members the seriousness of their duties, and the urgency for the commencement of their inquiries. The Commission proceeded at once to the scene of trouble, and were engaged at the mines for several weeks in the months of December and January, 1854-5, during which time they visited Ballarat and Creswick, Castlemaine, the capital of the Mount Alexander country, and Sandhurst, that of the Bendigo district.

Report.

The Commission were well received at the mines, more especially as the recent outbreak had already produced a favourable reaction among the great body of the miners, who disapproved of carrying opposition to the Government to the unwarrantable lengths of the Ballarat climax, and who, indeed, were anxious to explain so unusual a mistake of their countrymen by attributing the more extreme counsels to several impetuous foreigners, chiefly Germans, whose notions about distinctions of constitutional and unconstitutional opposition to a Government were of rather a confused

description. The Commission produced a lengthened report, in which the whole system of gold-fields' management was proposed to be reconstituted. The miners' earnings were found to be, on an average, rather smaller than those of other branches of colonial labour—a circumstance not favourable to the persistent maintenance of a heavy licence fee of practically very unequal incidence. The report recommended the abolition of this fee, and in its place the imposition of a moderate export duty on gold. The issue of a "Miner's Right" was suggested, at a cost to each miner of one pound a year, and conferring upon him both the mining privileges and the franchise. The Commission recommended local elective mining courts, and benches of local unpaid justices of the peace, who should sit with the regular paid magistrate. The title of "Commissioner" to the head official of each gold-field, a name now associated with the wranglings of the past, was proposed to be changed to the old English mining title Warden; and the warden was to hold his relations direct, with the executive, instead of continuing in the secondary official position, under the squatting commissioners, which had hitherto been the lot of the gold-fields' department.

Gold-fields reconstituted.

The Commission's various recommendations were in the main carried out by the Government, and, assisted by more auspicious years of digging that followed 1854, they inaugurated quite a new era for the important interests they affected. The gold-fields' population have since proved as loyal as the rest of the colony. If there have been a few rowdy incidents at elections and on other exciting occasions, they may be accepted as a kind of local holiday-making to the rough industry of these busy localities, the more excusable as they

have seldom disturbed or disgraced the Government.* The new regulations which were based upon the Commissions' Report have since been in the main adopted in New South Wales, and still later in British Columbia and New Zealand. A measure of great political importance was involved in one of these regulations. The system of the "Miner's Right" was tantamount in reality to the introduction of the principle of a manhood suffrage—a principle which was then conceded only to the special and difficult case of the mining population, but which, between two and three years afterwards, was formally adopted for the whole colony upon the concession of self-government.

Trial of rioters.

The Ballarat outbreak is a solitary incident in Australian history. It serves to show the danger of inattention to "premonitory symptoms" on the part of Governments, and it may also illustrate what senseless things the people may be hurried into doing in moments of excitement. The Commission wished to close this unpleasant page of the colony's affairs, and so end at once a subject that had occurred under very exceptional circumstances, and was not likely ever to occur again. A general amnesty as to the past was therefore urged upon the Government. But the Government, judging its duties differently, put the parties who had been arrested on their trial for high treason. The disadvantage of this extreme measure was that under what the French would call "the extenuating facts" of the case, the rioters became objects of public sympathy. In the opinion of not a few they were

* We must except the cowardly and disgraceful outrages of the colonists upon the Chinese several years ago, both in Victoria and New South Wales. The only good feature in the case is that there has been happily no repetition of such proceedings.

patriots who had contended against an irresponsible and therefore tyrannical Government. They were acquitted by the jury, as had been very generally anticipated, and they were afterwards fêted by a section of the people—a proceeding well nigh as culpable and unreflecting as the outbreak itself.

Restored order.

The rioting, after all, ended satisfactorily, and even with a reaction of more than usual loyalty. The more intelligent of the miners were constituted local justices of the peace; arrangements were made by which the mining districts elected their representatives to the Colonial Legislature; and above all, they found their leisure hours amply absorbed by attending to the new elective local boards, ordained for the purpose of framing the gold-mining regulations. A general gold-fields' legislative measure, on which these local proceedings were based, was drawn up and passed in the year 1855. Three years afterwards this Act was further amended and enlarged, and a "Minister of Mines" was added to the executive. We may add, however, that in the year 1863 another Government Commission paid a visit of inspection and inquiry to the gold-fields, which resulted in a very elaborate report, suggesting further adaptations and reforms, chiefly in the direction of increased local legislation, to meet the expanding wants and advancing interests of gold-mining.

Era of self-government.

We are now verging on the times of colonial self-government, which form the subject of the next chapter. The new constitution was proclaimed in November, 1855, and the legislature, of what may now be called the old system, had before it the duty of making preparations, by an Electoral Act and other proceedings, for the new order, its parliament, and its responsible ministries. Little more than four years had elapsed

since Victoria had commenced her career as a distinct colony, and the position now attained was unprecedented even in colonial progress. The population, from 77,000, had risen to 330,000, and the import and export commerce, which, at the earlier date, had represented a united total of £2,000,000, amounted now to no less than £25,000,000; giving to Victoria, in this respect, the first position among the colonies and dependencies of the empire.*

* Bombay and Calcutta have since surpassed even this great external commerce, leaving still to Victoria, however, the headship over all that are properly colonies, and in social and commercial circumstances similar to her own, such, for instance, as Canada, New South Wales, etc.

CHAPTER X.

THE COLONY OF VICTORIA UNDER SELF-GOVERNMENT; 1855—1863.

The Colonies first propose, then alter their Constitutions—The causes —Great changes under the new order—Events in Victoria and New South Wales—Favourable results in Victoria—The Colony's Governors since Self-government: Sir C. Hotham, General Macarthur, as acting-governor, Sir H. Barkly, Sir C. Darling—Political history—The Ballot Act—Transition Ministry and Parliament of the new Constitution—Successive Ministries to 1858, and retrospect of business—The Ballot in operation—Retrospect of Reform agitation, and progress—Democratic programme—Further changes of Ministry to present time —The Lands Question—Lands Law of 1862—Partial Defects —Intense public interest in the question—Mr. McCulloch succeeds Mr. O'Shanassy, June–December, 1863 — Measures proposed—Governor's salary question; official and other salaries —Land Law Amendment—Immigration—The Lands Revenue and the Public Debt.

Postscript on transportation to West Australia—Testimony as to injurious effects to Victoria and South Australia—Opposing statements—Both sides of the question—The system as an Imperial policy—French Penal Colony at New Caledonia— Imperial promise of total cessation to Australia.

Self-government conceded

THE importance which the gold-fields had brought to Australia was not less readily acknowledged at home than claimed in the colonies. In some proportion to this importance was there a desire on the part of the Imperial authorities to meet colonial views and wishes. No one could be in doubt as to what the great colonial

aspiration was. The colonists contended for that constitutional self-government which their own countrymen enjoyed at home. The Imperial authorities were not indisposed to go even to this furthest length in concession. Sir John Pakington had already taken a long first step towards this issue. The final one was accomplished under his successor, the Duke of Newcastle, shortly before the time at which we are now arrived. The colonies had been invited to consider respectively the subject of constitutions suitable to themselves, and to report the results to the Home Government. Accordingly the years 1853 and 1854 witnessed a general movement in this momentous business throughout the four principal colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. West Australia was exempted for the present, until its progress and financial stamina were more conspicuous; while New Zealand had already, just before, received a liberal constitutional measure which was satisfactory in the mean time.

Colonies suggest Constitutions.

Although these colonies discussed the question separately, each for itself, they were all agreed in some leading principles. They all adopted the system of two legislative Chambers, although that system had not been previously in operation amongst them, as the mixed elective and nominee legislature had, from its first institution, composed but one Chamber in each colony. They also agreed in continuing a system of qualifications for the franchise. In other particulars there were diversities of plan, as for instance where New South Wales preferred to encounter the first years of self-government with a nominee Upper House, while Victoria adopted the elective principle for both Houses, but at the same time based the membership of the Upper House upon the high qualification of £5000 of

real estate. The Imperial authorities ratified in the main the propositions of each colony, and towards the close of the year 1855, Australia was bracing herself up for the duties and enjoyments of self-government.

After-alterations.

A circumstance of a most striking character resulted from all these political arrangements. The concession of self-government was responded to on the part of the colonists by a feeling of universal interest. Every class occupied itself with public questions. But hardly was every mind thus put into motion, when the constitutions, so recently projected in Australia, and approved of and confirmed at home, were disowned, and for the most part torn to shreds in public discussions on the subject; and an agitation was commenced that did not stop until well nigh everything had been reconstituted upon a basis altogether different. The two great colonies of the mainland were particularly the parties to this reaction, and with promptitude and decision the mass of the public carried their measures. In a space of from two to three years after the first and somewhat conservative programme had been launched into actual life, these colonies stood upon as democratic a platform as either ancient or modern times have experienced. The Ballot, No Property Qualification, Equal Electoral Districts (approximately at least), and Manhood Suffrage, are now the Great Charter of Australian politics.

Reason of the change.

It is not difficult to discover reasons for such apparently inconsistent changes. They are not the result of a mere wanton instability of political purpose, such as might be supposed by the sager seniors to characterize young and prosperous and self-sufficient communities. We may first remark that the consideration of the self-government constitutions came on in the colonies at the very climax of the inflation caused by

the gold. There was at this time a full measure of the conservative hesitancy characteristic of wealth—overpowering wealth it might for the time have been called, and of none the less effect for its day, although based to a great extent on delusive estimates that subsequent years have dissipated. And particularly in Victoria, such were the ideas of the time, that a first proposition as to membership of the Upper House that restricted the qualification to £10,000 of real estate had well nigh been accepted. The amendment of £5000, which was finally adopted, and which, still remaining in force, is now probably seen to be injuriously exclusive as regards the influence of the Council, might have seemed at the time merely the sort of minimum of means of that particular kind that every probable or possible candidate could not fail to possess.

But a much stronger and clearer reason for these after changes was connected with the fact that what we may call the old *régime* performed the part of constituting and launching the new. Truly a self-denying ordinance was exacted from the former. As this has always been the mode—rather an invidious one—with the successively conceded steps of colonial institutions, we almost fear that each Imperial concession in times past may in consequence have but imperfectly carried out even the Imperial intentions, let alone the expectations of the colonists. But what social or political dominancy ever consented to extinguish itself, or at any rate actually did so, even if it had pretended to set about the uninspiring task? "The powers that be" in the colonies receive ever and again an Imperial missive ordering an extension of political liberties. These powers are ordered to call up others in their place, more or less superseding themselves. Forthwith

there is a great noise, a great shuffling about, and a cloud of obscuring dust from the busy scene. But when all these preliminaries are cleared away, there is but little real change. There are new coats all round, but the old well-known faces crop out from them as before.

Colonial parties.

This diplomatic game had been played on repeated occasions, and not without success. The legislative administration was essentially an upper class business up even to the time of the launch of self-government. Or it would be more practical to say it was, in the main, although by no means entirely, a business of Government House and its surroundings. The legislative majority had no doubt an occasional tiff upon one thing and another with "Government House," but there was always a cordial joining of hands in opposing "the democracy." The position of general well-doing in these colonies gave formidable proportions to this democracy, and increased the mistake, and indeed the subsequent mischief of the constant effort to depreciate or ignore it. This democracy was no other than the mass of the colonial public, whose political weight had been doubly diminished, first by nomineeship, and next by means of electoral inequalities.

Conditions of each Colony.

This anti-popular political tendency was aided, as we already remarked, by the nominee and squatting elements. The squatting body shared anti-popular instincts not merely from their position as Crown tenants—a position, however, that, as being held by a conformity to published rules, need not have directly affected their political independence—but from the opposition of the town and agricultural populations to their privileges. Tasmania had fewest of these difficulties and obstructions with which to confront the crisis of self-government; and, besides, the convict

antecedents of a large part of her labouring class diminished the moral weight of the mass, and threw the line of political gravity, so to speak, comparatively higher up in the scale of society. She, therefore, passed through the ordeal in comparative quiet, and has not yet accepted the extreme politics of her neighbours. In South Australia, too, the ordeal was passed with some degree of facility, although for quite different reasons, and in a different way from the others. In that colony the three great interests, the squatting, the mining, and the agricultural, had fairly matched and controlled one another; so that the popular principle had already enjoyed some free play prior to the self-government era, and thus democratic principles were adopted with proportionately less disturbance of the previous order. The Legislature of 1853 drew up a programme, which was transmitted home; but as the colonists deemed it too restricted, and strongly petitioned against it, the scheme was returned for reconsideration, and the result was the present democratic constitution of that colony. A much more contentious scene was in store for the other two colonies, when the accumulated wrath of the past had found its way to the surface, after the political activities were fully roused by the proclamation of the new constitution.

Effects of self-government.

And how did this popular reaction not continue as before to be suppressed? This is an obvious question, which was eagerly and rather angrily asked by the class whose dominancy the new tide so speedily swept away. The reply is quite as obvious as the question, and it involves a very important illustration of colonial history and politics. There could be no want of will in the past order to prevent itself being ousted from political pre-eminence. But the fact was that the past

order in each colony was no creation of its own society, and had no proper root there. It was a plant of the Imperial Government, and as long as the hand that planted it stood by the plant, its head was erect; when the hand was withdrawn it fell at once. There was no help for this result, as the Home Government had taken a step that removed its influence entirely from the scene of class warfare in the colonies. Every successive step of these free colonies, and every response to such steps from Downing Street, tend more clearly to show that the parent has left her colonies to their own management in all questions that pertain to themselves. Each colonial society is therefore a separate system, which proceeds to adjust itself alike on the merits and the accidents of its own circumstances.

Events in Victoria.

In Victoria and New South Wales war was immediately declared against the new constitutions. Fast and furious went the fight in all the busy centres of population. The respective governors, and the social and political dominancies of the day watched the novel and at first uncertain issues with attention, and perhaps not altogether with cordiality; for to their minds new ideas and new men ever came to the surface apparently only to give a hopeless unsettlement to all the past order. Indeed, Sir Charles Hotham, in Victoria, at the very threshold of the agitation, and by way of taking the threatening bull at once by the horns, intimated that he would expect his ministries to act upon his views as well as their own or the people's, and that he would not be disposed to sanction the appointment to office of persons whose "sole merit" consisted in their holding certain political views. No one could misinterpret this language, and a nice constitutional mess would soon have resulted had Sir Charles tried to carry out his views.

Sir C. Hotham's course.

But it was merely the instance of an unwitting mistake made by a mind unused to the logical sequences of such subjects, and accordingly his Excellency was promptly elbowed out of his untenable position by all the irresistible pressure that even in the small sphere of a colony a unanimous British press and public can bring to bear in such cases. Sir Charles's good disciplinary qualities as a naval officer were just what disqualified him for a civil emergency like the present, and he chafed before a description of opposition that was not to be met by a command or a broadside. The large masses upon the gold-fields, and especially the great population now centred in Melbourne and Geelong, gave an irresistible precipitancy to the colony's politics. Manhood suffrage was promptly assented to at the "mass meetings;" and there being a pressure of reaction on the wheel, and no experience about modifications, the measure, when between one and two years afterwards sanctioned by the Legislature, was adopted, as it were, pure and simple. Modifications were relegated to the leisure and experience of the future. What may be called the ragged extremities of so comprehensive a measure have already been re-dressed to some extent in a late Electoral Act, but without encroaching materially on the manhood principle.

Events in New South Wales.

In New South Wales the propulsion was at first less decided, or at least was much more obstinately opposed than in Victoria. Hope lingered longer with the old order, who succeeded in establishing a nominee Upper House, and were fain to make an effort, abortive though it proved, to institute a colonial nobility as a check on the democratic torrent. Sir William Denison, the governor, a man of ability and experience, had probably no democratic tendencies of his own, but he was not disposed

to involve himself or the Imperial authorities in a social war with those of the colony. When he launched the new ship, he gave the old company all the aid in his power by calling one of their prominent and more liberal members to the helm. But Mr. Donaldson, the new premier, after a short trial, retired before the threatening dimensions of the opposing minority, and two years further agitation under his successor, Mr. Cowper, terminated in the establishment of the democratic programme.

The new political order in these colonies has been distinguished by an unprecedented interest in public affairs, and a proportionate industry in public life. For a time, however, much of this industry was without result; for, although most who took up public affairs were agreed to disband the past, they had no precisely according ideas as to the substitution. And yet all must have a hearing; and so the colonial public, wading through an ocean of discussion, reaches at last some degree of knowledge of its own mind and circumstances. Confining ourselves to Victoria, the great colonial questions may now be said to have been sounded, and a consistent direction taken upon them. The new features.

These results have not been arrived at without intense differences of political feeling between the colonists. But apparently in some close proportion to the intensity of these differences amongst themselves, have been the quietness and loyalty of the colonists towards the Imperial Government. This good feeling —whatever of it existed before—has largely profited by the concession of colonial self-government. How many or how few more years of constant remonstrance and quarrel with the parent authorities might have been passed through without danger of the actual Favourable results.

destruction of this good feeling, could have been a subject of nice speculation had there been any possible advantage in longer pursuing the system. Happily there was no advantage, and so the old course has been abandoned. The Imperial relations happily have not perceptibly suffered, even by its long continuance—a result greatly due to the real feeling of attachment on the part of the colonies, and in some measure also to the judicious cordiality with which the different colonial governors have of late usually met the new conditions of their office. Legally, these functionaries have all power; constitutionally, and by common understanding, they have the least possible. While they can hardly remain neutral in the busy and interesting scene around them, they are most favourably situated for being impartial. The intermediate path, proverbially the wise and safe one, has been very fairly trodden.

Later Governors of Victoria.

Let us glance at the successive governors who have administered affairs in Victoria since these new conditions of our colonies. Even Sir Charles Hotham, after his first check, might have settled down into a good constitutional governor. He had partially retracted from, or apologized for, his autocratic "minute," by instructing his ministry to state to the Assembly, what no doubt was really the case, that it was not meant as an *ultimatum*, but rather as an expression of the governor's private view, which the Executive Council were to take into consideration. Sir Charles was earnest and thoroughly well disposed, but he had entered on what to him was an unwonted and a very cross-grained pathway, and he died at the difficult post after only eighteen months of duty; doubtless, to some extent, in consequence of the cares of his position.

Sir C. Hotham.

This event occurred at the end of the year 1855,

and during nearly all the following year the colony was under an Acting-Governorship, administered by the Commander of the Forces for the time being in Victoria, Major-General Macarthur. The gallant general met in a very cordial spirit the emergencies of his temporary office, and he proportionately contributed to place his successor in an unanxious chair. Other circumstances were also favourable. The colony, aided by a well-filled treasury, was passing its political ordeal with a somewhat general expression of popular goodwill. This was shown by the fact both that public men of the old system had accepted generally the new conditions, and also that some leading members of the past Government, who had become candidates under the new order, were readily elected into their enlarged public life by the new constituencies. General Macarthur, acting-governor.

There had been some delay at home in selecting a new governor. The office was one of high importance, for the colony had already a yearly income of three millions sterling, equal to that of some smaller states of Europe, while it could exhibit also a yearly import and export roll, amounting in united value to thirty millions sterling, a position that, by this substantial criterion, placed it, at the time, at the very head of the provincial empire.* No ways receding from

* The united imports and exports of Victoria, for 1857, amounted to no less than £32,335,721—figures then quite unprecedented in the empire's commerce outside of Britain. Since then there has been some falling off, contemporaneously, too, with more or less progress, on the part of Victoria's chief rivals. The year 1862 shows as follows:—Victoria, £26,527,209; Canada, £16,449,352; New South Wales, £16,437,207. Latterly, the Indian ports have been making quite extraordinary progress. Calcutta begins to exceed Victoria in 1860, and two years since Bombay jumped far ahead of all competitors, even Calcutta itself.

such a high position, the Legislature had previously, in view of Sir Charles Hotham's appointment, raised the salary of the office to £15,000 a year, an amount second only to that of the Governor-Generalship of India. But indeed the amount was not more than the expensiveness and extravagance of the time demanded.*

Sir H. Barkly.

The Imperial choice fell upon Sir Henry Barkly, who, during a seven years' tenure of office, appears to have acted generally with courtesy and judgment, the former quality being often quite as important in a constitutional governor as the latter. Only once does Sir Henry seem to have divided the opinions of his people. This was on the occasion of his granting a dissolution to a new ministry he had summoned in 1861, the Assembly then in being having proved hostile to his choice. The ministry in question had extreme democratic views, including "Protectionist leanings;" and it was argued that the governor should not promote departures from the home model, although he might see reason in not opposing them. Exception was very generally taken to his course at the time, more especially as the newly-elected Assembly, as well as its predecessor, rejected the Protectionist ministry. However, as some of the more prominent public men persisted to keep up a tone and bearing of animadversion on the subject, they provoked a counter-demonstration from the general public, which amply attested the governor's popularity. And while we

* A striking illustration of this expensiveness occurs with regard to the hiring of a house for the governor in 1854. The most suitable was Toorak, the picturesque and handsome residence of the late Mr. Jackson, one of the principal merchants. But a tenant was in occupation who had taken a three years' lease at £300 a year, and two years were still to expire. For these two years the Government paid the tenant a bonus of £10,000.

now write, the last mail from the colony wafts to us the noise of preparation for another and still more effective demonstration on the approaching departure of Sir Henry at the expiry of the customary term of his office. He proceeds, in the capacity of governor, to Mauritius, and is to be succeeded in Victoria by Sir Charles Darling, the nephew of a former governor of New South Wales, whose name has been long familiar to our Australian geography.* Sir C. Darling.

Let us review some of the more remarkable occurrences in the progress of Victoria's new political condition. The new constitution is proclaimed in the colony on 23rd November, 1855. The existing legislature is called to frame the measures necessary for the introduction of the new order. There is, as we have said, a spirit of awakened political activity throughout colonial society, and some of this spirit has infused itself into the existing assembly. That body is disposed to be liberal; it already apprehends that the constitution projected in 1854 must be reconstituted on a wider and more popular basis, and many members are already sympathizing with the democratic aims of the almost daily public meetings that are taking place outside. Political occurrences.

In the first place, the ministry feels itself anomalous and uncomfortable in the general glorification of popular and representative politics. Its members have no sanction from the people, for they are the mere nominees of the Government. Here is the perplexity of their position—Are they to continue as representatives of the governor, and as such to lay his Estimates and other business before the House? or are they to put themselves into a position of responsibility to the House by bringing forward their own measures, upon which they Transition Ministry.

* Sir Charles arrived on 9th September, 1863.

purpose to stand or fall? In view of the future, the ministers could hardly fail to prefer to stand upon the latter ground; besides, that it secured to them, better than in the other predicament, their relationship to the pension clause of the New Constitution Act. Legal advice was summoned to the rescue; and the unwitting House was first made aware of some occult procedure amongst its "servants," by seeing one day, to its great astonishment, that the ministerial benches were entirely empty. Astonishment was turned into anger when no one seemed prepared with any explanation. The ministers, in fact, as was afterwards intimated, were, with the governor's acquiescence, going through a constitutional process of tendering their resignation, and being "released on political grounds," and of being again, in the person of their Premier, Mr. Haines, "sent for" by the Governor. Mr. Haines was sent for in due form, and intrusted with the formation of a ministry, and he in turn sent for his old colleagues. The House was not altogether pleased at this ambitious manœuvring behind the scenes; and as the governor's autocratic minute, to which we have already alluded, came to light at the same time, the new ministry escaped, by the very narrowest majority, a vote of censure, to whose constitutional consequences they had just made themselves amenable. But withal the House was more than half amused at the eager race towards the new system in which its own members fully participated, and at this precipitate leap into the honours and anxieties of political responsibility.

Mr. Nicholson's Ballot Act.

One important measure is passed by this Legislature, in anticipation of the new order. On the 18th December there was a motion introduced "that in the opinion

of this House, any new Electoral Act should provide for electors recording their votes by secret ballot." This motion the Government opposed. The Electoral Act they had in hand had no provision for such a contingency; they refused, therefore, to make the ballot even an open question for the benefit of one or two of their members who might have pronounced in its favour. They seem to have calculated on defeating the motion; nevertheless it was passed by thirty-three votes to twenty-five, and thereupon the ministry resigned. The colony was already acting self-government, before the new constitution had come into operation. Mr. Nicholson, the mover of the ballot resolution, was called to the vacant premiership; but some difficulty occurred in his gathering together a ministry at this transition era, and the emergeney was increased by the death of the governor, Sir Charles Hotham, which occurred somewhat suddenly on the last day of the year 1855. Under these circumstances, Mr. Nicholson threw up his task, and the new Acting-Governor, Major-General Macarthur, invited the old ministry to return, which they did, with some enhancement to their consequence. They are subsequently even more fortunate, for after passing their measures, their chief members are elected by the new constituencies into the new parliament; and they step triumphantly from the old to the new platform.

Death of Sir C. Hotham.

A home colonial minister remarked lately that almost every Australian mail brought word of a change of ministry. Under the new system most things political were in the category of the untried, and the reins were held either by unaccustomed hands, or by hands not at all used either to the new steeds or their pace. In such a case, political mistakes and mishaps are not

Parliament of New Constitution.

easily avoided; and yet neither can they be condoned; and so there is nothing for it but the old constitutional ordeal. The parliament under the new constitution comes together on the 21st November, 1856. By the 3rd March following a crisis has arisen, and Mr. Haines and his friends resign. The event is interesting, as being the first of its kind occurring after the new constitution was fairly under weigh. The stumbling-block arose out of a vote for immigration purposes, which had been taken for the sum of £270,000, while, as it afterwards came out, the ministry's intention at the time, and, in fact, the arrangements they had made, involved an actual expenditure of only £120,000. The larger sum looked better in the face of some considerable expenses attending a new system of immigration; and, besides, the £150,000 of spare money might prove convenient to the wants of an uncertain future. But the House rebelled forthwith at this laxity of principle, and on its condemnatory vote, Mr. Haines was succeeded by Mr. O'Shanassy.

First change of Ministry.

The new minister, although himself an able and well-informed public man, was encumbered by a following of very miscellaneous character in a political sense. There was, indeed, a difficulty as yet in finding "workable" ministries in the new political field, as Mr. Nicholson had already experienced. Public men, even if they had as yet emerged with fixed principles of their own from the race and agitation of the colony's politics, were still but little disciplined into mutual co-operation. The new Government lasted hardly six weeks, when Mr. Haines was again Premier; and as he was personally in general esteem, and had brought with him on the whole a better following than his predecessor, he succeeded in standing longer. In fact, he

Second change.

held his ground, as his impatient opponents of these restless days might have said, for the unconscionable period of almost an entire year, when at last he was in turn upset, upon something relating to a schedule of an Electoral Districts' Act, and once more Mr. O'Shanassy "reigned in his stead." Third change.

This last proceeding brings us to the 24th of February, 1858. By this time much had been accomplished in constitutional questions, notwithstanding what might seem to outside observers the slipshod aspect of the Government, as indicated by the repeated ministerial changes. We have noticed that the Legislature that had closed the past order had been considerably pervaded by the influences outside the parliamentary walls, and with so much effect that it passed with a fair majority a motion in favour of the ballot —a thing it had never shown any disposition to do previously. Indeed a large proportion of this majority, including even the mover himself, had formerly been opponents of the ballot. But the searching political ordeal of the new system had caused every one to re-examine his political views, and to test the theoretical by the practical. In consequence the accustomed anti-ballot theories mostly disappeared. Subsequent experience has more than confirmed all the anticipations from this measure, both as to its nullifying effect upon bribery and intimidation, and, even more, its influence in restraining disorderly excesses and violence during the exciting times of political elections.* Retrospect of work done. The Ballot in operation.

* The author acted as one of the returning officers in Melbourne in the first elections under the Ballot Act, in 1856. Like everyone else in the colony at the time, he watched with interest the effect produced. That effect was quite extraordinary, the elections having passed off without the least confusion or disturbance, although there

Reform agitation.

"The ministry of that day, too, as well as the Assembly, were prone to liberalities. Although they opposed the ballot, they introduced and passed an Electoral Act, which greatly equalized the previously imperfect representation, and thus gave a fairer starting ground for the new order. This ministry continued the Government during the transition interval; and its leading members having addressed the new constituencies, and been elected, as we have just stated, into the Assembly of the new parliament, they prolonged their administration into the new era. They pleaded strongly for a fair trial being given to the new constitution, condemned although it now was for its restrictions. They resembled purveyors who entreated for a trial of their feast, while the complaint of the audience mainly was that there were seats for only half their number. The ministers, however, expressed themselves generally as disposed to accept the new conditions and ideas; and thus the colony enjoyed the advantage of starting on the new course with its old

was a manifestation of great interest in the results. No doubt this first trial was a sort of holiday in electioneering tactics, everyone being curious to witness the operation of the ballot. The system has, however, acted well ever since, in very materially diminishing election abuses and evils, particularly those connected with threats and violence, and it has now been in operation in most of the colonies for some years with generally admitted benefit. If secret voting be itself an evil, it has certainly been the means of greatly diminishing all other evils connected with voting. At first the Act prescribed that the officer should mark upon the voter's ballot paper his number as printed on the electoral roll—a proceeding that preserved a record of each vote. This plan was afterwards changed for one of absolute secrecy. A clause of the Electoral Act of 1863 again encroached on secrecy, but the provision has been repealed by the present ministry of Victoria, on popular demonstrations being made on the subject.

guides, under a reciprocity to some extent of confidence and good-will.*

Let us glance at the development of the programme of the colony's new political career. The manhood suffrage, a Government measure, is passed in 1857, with a conservative clause giving a non-residential vote in right of £50 of property or £5 of yearly rental. On the motion of an opposition member (Mr. Duffy), the property qualification as regards membership in the Assembly is abolished. The numbers of this body are increased from sixty to seventy-eight members; and the electoral distribution receives on the occasion a further degree of accordance with the population-basis principle. Other measures of the democratic programme are tried, but they are less successfully dealt with. The State Aid to Religion, after being lost by vote of the Assembly, is still preserved by a majority of one vote in the Council; while all efforts to fuse the two existing educational boards, representing respectively the too often hostile as well as rival national and denominational systems, and to introduce some one general and truly national system, prove at that time futile, although to some extent accomplished at a later period. The Reform programme.

Such were the attainments at the date we have alluded to. The colony is upon a democratic course, already far in advance of home example, and the proclivities, as an American would express it, are still strong. As each ministry is bowed out, its successor seems to have braced itself better up to the democratic Its progress.

* The ministers under the new system, who had also officiated under the old order, were Mr. Haines, Chief Secretary; Mr. Stawell, Attorney General; Mr. Childers, Commissioner of Trade and Customs; and Capt. Clarke, Commissioner of Lands and Works.

regimen, which accordingly it administers with a more accustomed and less irresolute hand. But when, and in what measures, is this career to end?

Democratic principles.

Three more years elapse without results that give an answer to this question. But in 1861 there seems a reactionary movement, into which it is interesting to inquire. More than a Premier or two had appeared and passed away in that busy and shifting interval.

Mr. Heales.

Mr. Heales is now in the chair, and, judging from indications then and since, it is he who closes the democratic race with the ultra-democratic programme. There are some features in the case besides the programme, to give it an importance in the domain of colonial politics. Mr. Heales' call to the premiership was hardly announced, ere the Assembly, by a very decided majority, pronounced its want of confidence. The House had its likes or dislikes to Mr. Heales and his following, or rather to the latter, for that was ever the high ministerial difficulty; and besides, Mr. Heales was a protectionist. The democratic development had sensibly increased the strength of a colonial protection party, which was previously of no consideration, and confined mainly to certain agricultural districts which had sighed in silent hope for a reign of exclusion and high prices during the confused prospects of the first years of gold-mining. Under these circumstances it was generally expected that the governor, Sir Henry Barkly, would have called another minister. He did not do so, however, but at Mr. Heales's request, granted him the chances of a new assembly. The new elections resulted so far favourably that they diminished the hostile majority; but as they did not remove it, the adverse votes being still forty against thirty-four, Mr. Heales and his party quitted office.

His proposed measures.

Let us revert to the Heales' programme, as sketched by the Governor in his opening speech to the new Assembly (30th August, 1861). It is more ample, perhaps, as well as more precise, than any of its predecessors, and illustrative of what may be called the advanced democratic school of the colony.

The Lands.

First, as to that everlasting perplexity, the Crown or Waste Lands, which, although termed "waste," are, as we must recollect, occupied by squatters. A plan was to be adopted by the Government of permitting occupation of any waste lands by simple licence to persons who, with the purpose of settling and cultivating, took 160 acres, on the condition of paying 2*s.* 6*d.* per acre of rental.

"Protection."

Next, the principle of "Protection" was to be adopted, partly with the view of increasing revenue by increased customs dues, partly to give the "incidental advantages" to home industries by directing the taxation of imports to those articles that competed with home production. In the same spirit colonial distillation was to be encouraged by levying a less duty on colonial than on imported spirits.

Payment of members, etc.

Thirdly, it was proposed to adopt a system of payment of members; and the plan, as understood, was that each member of parliament was to receive a salary of £300 a year. The other chief propositions were, a reduction of the export duty on gold (from 2*s.* 6*d.* per ounce to 1*s.* 6*d.*); the introduction of the Torrens' Real Property Land Transfer Act; the substitution of one Education Board for the present two divisions, with the twofold object of economy, and of giving a sound secular education; the abolition of State aid to religion; and the reform of the constitution of the Council or Upper House.

Measures mostly suitable.

Regarding these proposed measures, if we except the "protective" part of the programme, the proposals generally are not unsuitable to the colony's circumstances, and they are in fact likely for the most part to be carried out gradually in the quieter political procedure that seems now promised to the colony. Already the gold-duty is reduced, and the Torrens' Land Transfer Act made law; while a Crown lands' measure, with greatly increased facilities to the purchasing public, has been passed by Mr. Heales' successors. The State Aid and Education questions either have already taken, or seem on the eve of taking, the issues indicated above; and the constitution of the second Chamber must be reformed towards a less restricted qualification, unless that body is content to exist with a legal rather than an actual influence and consideration in the colony.

Payment of Members Question.

On the other hand, there was evidently a strong prejudice with many at the time, against the proposition of the payment of members, arising in the main, doubtless, from a feeling that members should be possessed independently of at least sufficient means of subsistence, so as not to trust to their politics for a livelihood. This is a proper view; but we think nevertheless that the common sense of a practical colony will by and by see both consistency and advantage in some appreciable remuneration for labours of a very onerous and exacting kind, that are or ought to be carried on by every presently unpaid member, as well as every well-paid minister, of the Colonial Parliament. Others of our colonies have so judged the common sense of the case, and recently the Otago province of New Zealand inaugurated the system by an allowance to country members. The example of the Imperial Parliament settles nothing for the dissimilar case of the colonies, with their

practical and less class-pretending legislatures. The amount of the payment need not be large, but it should, like a director's or an arbitrator's fee, be appreciable to the recipient. It should at the very least repay the costs he is put to in the service of the public. But certainly the mode of a yearly salary is not the best to ensure the greatest amount of the contingent advantages.

Mr. O'Shanassy succeeded Mr. Heales. This time he is aided by more promising coadjutors, as they include Mr. Haines and Mr. Nicholson; and the ministry lives to the unprecedented term of nearly two years. The wants and aims of the colony are growing clearer, and thus permit of more extended co-operation among its public men. Mr. O'Shanassy's Ministry.

The new ministry applies at once a conservative check to the momentum of change and progress instituted by its predecessor. The "re-arrangement of the tariff" was to have operated protectively by means of duties to be levied on imported vehicles, furniture, and other articles that competed with colonial production. An array of wharfage rates was, amongst other purposes, designed to give a slight protection to agriculture, which was not, however, to be otherwise favoured—to the disappointment of many farmers, who, themselves restricted in many things by the proposed code, hoped that their interest, above all others, would be reciprocally cherished. Some extra income derived from these arrangements was to have permitted of a reduction of the tea duty (6*d.* per pound), and of the duty on the lower qualities of sugar (5*s.* per cwt.). £20,000 a year was expected from a duty on bank-notes. Conservative course.

The new ministry disowned all the protective pro-

The Lands Question.

jects, and would let the tariff and minuter proposed changes alone for the present. Their attention was given to a final settlement of the long-protracted Public Lands question. That question was complicated by the many interests that had arisen under past and present systems. There was also the difficulty of dealing with the squatters, whose slight and surface use of the natural country, besides the comparatively large area that each sheep and bullock required, suspended that class in a sort of dubious mid-air as to the question of its pertaining to a fixed and permanent system of the colony. By the Imperial Act of 1855, the colonial lands administration was transferred to the colonial legislature. After five years' discussion, both within and without the parliamentary walls, Mr. Nicholson, when Premier in 1860, ventured on the first exercise of the new colonial authority on the contentious subject, by passing the Land Sales Act of that year, which prevented any further operations of the "Orders in Council," although not expressly repealing them. The other provisions did not embrace the whole land question. Mr. Heales' proposition, too, besides the same defect, was deemed of an unsuitable character for a colony already well peopled, full of markets and municipal towns, and more or less settled throughout. In laying open all the squatting runs to the agricultural lessee, as if they were literally a waste or empty territory, it did much more than maintain the old doubts about the relative value of squatting settlements—it really excluded from consideration the very existence of squatting.

Land Law of 1862.

These discussions and tentative efforts and propositions were not useless, and prepared the way for a comprehensive measure, the Land Law of 1862. The

everlasting contention hitherto about agricultural settlement being impeded by the squatters must be set finally at rest. This could only be done by the Government reappropriating, as it were, all the lands suitable for agriculture. These the squatters must give up using them on mere sufferance till wanted. On the other hand, they would enjoy the pastoral use of the rest of the colony, with all the reasonable security of possession that the public interests could afford them. At the same time, even as to these agricultural lands, the squatters were not to be exposed to the casual inroad of any intending purchaser or lessee; for there were to be no sales or settlements prior to the regular survey of the lands, and their proclamation as open to purchase.

So much for the squatters. Regarding the rest of the public, the great object was to promote the permanent settlement of the country by giving encouragements and privileges to a residential agricultural population. Great exertions would be made with the surveys, so that the widest area of choice might be given to intending settlers. To such there would be no delay or uncertainty such as attends the public auction ordeal. Advanced as the colony now was, the price must be maintained at 20*s.* an acre, but intending residents could select at will over the area surveyed, and they were facilitated in their payments by an option of buying one half of their section, and leasing the remainder at a yearly rent of 2*s.* 6*d.* an acre, with the understanding that, after eight such yearly instalments, that remainder was also their own. The land was to be surveyed in sections of from 40 to 640 acres, and no one was entitled to purchase under these regulations more than the latter quantity in any one year. The

Area and quality of Colony's soil.

condition of the colonial lands had been ascertained to be as follows:—There were altogether in round numbers fifty-five and a half millions of acres of colonial area. Of this extent four and a half millions had been alienated from the Crown by sale, half a million acres existed in worked gold-fields; there were about two millions appropriated to commonage, and thirteen millions were sterile. There remained ten and a half million acres suitable for agriculture, and twenty-five millions more that, although not suited to agriculture, were available for pasture.

Defects of the Law.

We shall have elsewhere to allude to certain difficulties with this land law, which require some amendment of its details, with the view of preventing the more wealthy colonists from buying surreptitiously on a larger scale than the law contemplated, and thus prolonging the sparse character of colonial settlement. The squatters who have been large buyers have, in fact, been thus avenging themselves upon the Act, and with some success, both in increasing upon favourable terms their own landed possessions, and in undermining the credit of the new measure, to which they can hardly feel over-well disposed.

Intense feeling on the Lands Question.

These Crown lands are the subject of an intense general interest, that very unwillingly permits of monopolizing appropriations in few hands. Every individual longs and hopes to have a section of his own, and every class to see its members sharing well in the distribution of the vast Crown domain, which, once alienated from its royal owner, is no longer to be acquired upon the first terms. With the very first breath of self-government in the colony, there was a stir in the land question, which was then not only unsettled, but, as many thought, altogether wrong-settled. A Land Convention was

organized—a sort of People's Parliament—upon this one overshadowing question. This body, meeting in Melbourne, and having relations with all the colony, assembled daily under its President or Speaker, while the local press responded to the public estimate of its importance by reporting its proceedings and debates with as much care as was commanded by its more legitimate but leisurely brother in an adjoining street. The Land Convention proposed to represent the whole people, while the regular Assembly, with its then qualified franchise, represented only a part. The convention, easily master of its own ground, was soon absorbing other kindred subjects in its expanding sweep, and who was to save Jacob from the vigorous grasp of Esau? The latter's reign, however, co-existed only with the order that was about to expire. When the Universal Suffrage measure had passed, and the resulting parliament had assembled, there was no longer standing-room for the convention, which accordingly ceased to exist.

Land Convention, 1856-7.

The long lane of the land question seemed about to be run to its final end under the O'Shanassy administration, when there came once more a change of government. And high time too for such a relieving break, if we judge by the restless past. The ministry had lasted twenty-two months. What are things political coming to? How are all the many expectants on either side the House to come in as ministers in their day and turn, if any one set takes such a lease of the official seats? Even the fourteen years' leases, after being demolished in one shape, may return in another upon the colony at this rate. Nevertheless, it is a good sign of the colony's political steadiness. But what caused the mishap?

O'Shanassy's Ministry resigns.

The cause.

A decided mishap it was; for it was indicated by forty-two votes against twenty-six. It occurred on the occasion of discussing amendments to the New Land Act. The particular point was with regard to the assessments on the squatters. These dues, as the Government had promised the Assembly, were to yield an increased income, by the adoption of a system of arbitration for ascertaining the depasturing capability of the runs, instead of the previous plan of sworn returns from the respective squatters themselves. The unexpected result was, however, that the new mode yielded a less revenue, and as the arbitrations had been rather a costly business, the ministry felt itself in an awkward position before the House. To get out of their difficulty, ministers preferred the course of abandoning the new, and reverting to the old mode. This course was, however, opposed, as savouring of repudiation towards those squatters whose arbitration cases had resulted in the lesser amount. The new system was law for the time, and they claimed their advantage accordingly. An opposition was organized in accordance with this view of the case, headed by Mr. M'Culloch, one of the principal merchants of the colony; and when Mr. O'Shanassy's ministry, after some consultation on the subject, had decided to resign, Mr. M'Culloch was entrusted by the Governor with the formation of a ministry.

Mr. M'Culloch.

His Ministry.

These occurrences were in June, 1863. Already we are abreast of our own time. Mr. M'Culloch's Government is well supported, including, in more than usual measure, the social position, ability, and political experience of the colony.* The ordeal of the new

* Mr. Heales has joined it; Mr. Nicholson will give his support; the Minister of Justice is Mr. Michie, reputed the most able member of the colony's legal profession.

elections has been passed through with entire success, only one of the members having met with opposition. This one was Mr. Michie, who had been called to office from outside Parliament, and who, as a well-known free-trader, had, almost in the danger-courting ardour of knight-errantry, addressed an agricultural constituency for his seat. Opposed by protectionist leanings, and by an influential local candidate of the same tendencies, Mr. Michie's success was creditable, even with his small majority of four votes.

Their measures.

The new ministry are already in full work. They have amended the Electoral Act of their predecessors by restoring the secrecy of the ballot, which had been to some extent invaded by a clause of the Act that connected the voter with his voting-paper by means of a number to be affixed to the paper by the returning officer upon taking the vote. There are to be some improved arrangements in the assisted immigration department, chiefly with the view of introducing from among the poorer classes of the mother country persons of a training suited to the colony's wants, and, in particular, female domestic servants. For the present, however, the suspension of land sales, under the new act pending an amendment of some of its clauses, has left comparatively small means at the Government's disposal for these immigration projects. We leave the ministry busy over the land law of 1862. An amendment had been under consideration by the preceding ministry, the authors of the law in question. Their successors inherit this duty with more goodwill, and probably with more comprehensive plans of reform. Mr. Heales is in charge of the lands department, and would fain still bring the radical opposition of his views to bear against all the remains of the old system.

Intending resident agricultural proprietors are to be still further encouraged, while additional difficulties are sought to be put in the way of the terrible land speculators, and the squatting buyers of large blocks of territory—those who would keep the country empty "on speculation," and those who would hardly any better fill its agricultural areas by continuing to devote them to pasturage. With these views, certain improvements were to be insisted on as the condition of the purchaser receiving the Crown grant. The deposit to purchasers was to be reduced from 10*s.* to 5*s.* per acre, the residue of the price of 20*s.* per acre being payable by yearly instalments of 2*s.* 6*d.* an acre. In legal form this facility consists in the purchaser paying in full for one-fourth of the section, and leasing the remainder for eight years at 2*s.* 6*d.* per acre of yearly rent, after which, the land so leased becomes also his own.*

There does not seem any substantial difference on great political questions between the present and the preceding ministry; and if we could suppose the entire parliament to be composed of the following, respectively of the one or the other, we might almost realize the unprecedented spectacle of a free political assembly being all of one mind. We may rest satisfied, however, that no disappointing monotony of this kind will be the singular destiny of Victoria.

Review of general events.

Let us now allude to a few historical incidents, before closing this division of the work. We have spoken of the inspiring efforts of free institutions and self-government. The picture is not everywhere agree-

* Mr. Heales has since tried his amendment, but it has been rejected by the Assembly as too much encumbering and restricting land buyers. He is occupied in devising another more acceptable.

able. There are popular prejudices which, in a society like that of the colony, are sometimes all the more irrepressible and injurious with the political and social importance of the masses that hold these prejudices. The antipathy of the mining population to the Chinese is a case in point. The presence of large numbers of this race in the colony is at best a very doubtful benefit, notwithstanding that they eat rice and increase trade, and that a trader should respect all customers. The Government, agreeing in the doubts of the case, had checked the large and threatening immigration by means of heavy fines, or head money imposed on the ships that brought the Chinese; and in this procedure had been followed by South Australia and New South Wales. Nevertheless, the well-known dusky faces peered forth in thousands over each of the chief gold-fields, and, as the angry and impatient miners alleged, were perpetually in their way, gleaning up everything in their wake upon the diggings. An outbreak somewhere seemed inevitable, and it took place at last upon the Buckland river gold-field, on the 4th July, 1857.

Outbreak against Chinese in Victoria.

The occasion was an anti-Chinese demonstration, got up by a public meeting of the colonists of the district, with the view of protesting against the "Chinese inroad" amongst the Europeans. Many prominent residents took part in the business, and resolutions were passed to the effect that this swarming of the Chinese amongst the colonists was an intolerable nuisance that must result in the one or the other race quitting the locality. Debasing practices were alluded to, as prevailing among the Chinamen, as well as the prospect of their "using up" all the gold-fields. The Government were condemned for

having allowed so many of them to come into the country; and the resolutions concluded with an intimation that if the Government would not rid them of the Chinamen, the Bucklanders might do that for themselves.

These resolutions were no sooner passed, and the meeting thereupon dissolved, than a cry was raised for immediate action. A party of miners, at first small, but gradually expanding as it moved along, started at once for the Chinese quarter of the diggings. Here all was speedily confusion, dismay, and rout. Bedding and other baggage were hastily strapped up, and mounted on the backs of the flying Chinamen. Twice they faced about upon the comparative handful of their enemy. One small but active fellow was observed to be conspicuously energetic in his efforts to rally his countrymen. He was a hero, and deserved a crown even at the hands of his cowardly assailants. But all was to no purpose. A vanguard of a dozen or so of the white barbarians, once and again, set the whole mass on the move; and the line of flight, strewn with all sorts of castaway effects, resembled the route of a defeated army.

It is only just to the general body of the Buckland miners to state that a number of them strove most creditably to protect the Chinamen from this disgraceful attack, more especially as they saw that many of the poor timid creatures were shamefully handled, while scandalous robberies were being committed upon their property. A great deal of bedding was thrown into the river, which was then running in a full stream, and all the Chinese tents, as well as a recently-erected joss-house, were committed to the flames.

Like outbreak in New South Wales.

The Government took prompt measures to protect the Chinamen, and to recompense them for their losses.

There has been no further outbreak of this kind in Victoria, but New South Wales was subsequently the scene of one still more violent and disgraceful than that of the sister colony. This outbreak began in February, 1861, at the gold diggings of Lambing Flat, near Yass. There had been a somewhat general combination among the European colonists for the purpose of expelling the Chinese. The miners had formed a league for self-protection (against the Government, we presume), and in the excitement and eccentricities of the occasion had petitioned the Government with the miscellaneous programme of expulsion of the Chinese, abolition of the gold export duty, protection to native industry, and "promulgation of the Word of God." For this time, however, the commotion was allayed without much transgression. Two hundred military with several pieces of artillery were sent up, the Chief Secretary himself proceeding to the spot in advance, and warning the miners that law and order must be enforced.

The Chinese returned, and all seemed quiet again for an interval of four months, when a second and much more dreadful outbreak occurred on the same ground. This was on Sunday, the 30th of June, 1861. A large body of miners attacked the Chinese, and drove them off the diggings with the greatest violence and brutality. They attacked them with arms, taking a savage delight in cutting off or tearing away their tails, and burning and destroying their property. The police having quickly mustered, they secured some of the most riotous; but on the following Sunday the police camp was assailed by a great mob, who were bent on rescuing their comrades. The mob, however, were beaten off, although not without some loss of life and many wounds on both sides. The police, owing to

the smallness of their numbers, were compelled for the time to retreat, until reinforced by the military, who were once more summoned to the field, when the outbreak was effectually quelled. Happily, these disgraceful proceedings have not been repeated.

Riot at Melbourne on Lands Question.

Returning to Victoria, another subject of popular excitement that culminated in a riot was the vexed and absorbing Land Question. The Land Sales Act of 1860 had caused endless discussion both in and out of parliament. "Ministerial difficulties" had occurred on the subject, and on the reassembling of parliament after the adjournment usual on such occasions, the excitement seems to have reached its climax. This was on the 28th of August, 1860. Large public meetings had been shortly before held, at which several of the members of the Assembly stirred up the populace, in effect, to make a physical demonstration in the open area around the parliamentary buildings, in favour of a popular and anti-squatting Land Act. In the afternoon of the 28th an immense assemblage had come together, who by degrees proceeded to violence, in breaking windows, throwing stones, by which many of the police were wounded, and shouting for a rush into the Assembly, where the members were at the time engaged in business. But at this threatening stage the Riot Act was read, and the area was cleared without difficulty by a small party of mounted troopers.

This very unusual event in the capital seems to have greatly outraged the public feeling, and accordingly, on the following day, sixteen hundred of the citizens enrolled themselves as a special defensive force in case of future need. All the military force of the colony had shortly before been despatched to the aid of the New Zealand Government in the war with the

Maories—a circumstance somewhat truculently alluded to in the exciting speeches of some of the leaders of the movement.

A number of the rioters had been laid hold of, and were duly brought before the magisterial bench of the mayor. In most of the cases, as often happens in such occurrences, there seemed no evil purpose, but a mere excitement of the moment. The parties really blameable were sure to be out of harm's way. Those who had been arrested were only anxious to make all kinds of excuses. One had an order for admission to the Parliament House, and merely tried to put it in force; while another was pushed on by those behind; and others had wives and families to think about, instead of disturbances to the peace. All were leniently enough dealt with, but a legislative Act was immediately passed which prohibited for the future any public meetings or gatherings within certain distances of the buildings of Parliament.

Victoria has not since engaged in these unseemly outbursts. One may hope that her colonists will continue such forbearance, were it only to avoid the useless trouble such doings give to the actors themselves. Who can appreciate the dangers and glories of rowdyism, if it is all to end in ignoble excuses to an unheroic police office bench, and, worst of all, in the charitable condonation of the penitent offenders.

Imperial distinctions to colonists.

Let us turn to a brighter page. Australia's importance lacked yet one customary response from the parent state. The prominent heads of prominent communities are such as, in modern practice with the colonies, the Queen "delighteth to honour." Accordingly, several years ago, the dignity of knighthood was bestowed upon some of the leading colonists of the

political and judicial circles of Victoria. Similar honours, to about the same extent, were also showered upon New South Wales, and a smaller but proportionate sprinkling of the same pleasant kind was directed to South Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand.*

We are here enabled, just before publication, to carry the colony's history to the end of 1863. One of the earliest duties of the new Governor, after his arrival, was to entertain an Act of the Colonial Parliament, by which the salary of his office was reduced from £15,000 to £10,000 a year. There had been some disagreement between the home authorities and the colony in the preceding year on the subject of reducing the governorship salary. The large amount of £15,000 had been agreed to eight years before, in consideration of the excessive costliness of everything at the time in Melbourne. Latterly, however, there had been such a complete change in this respect, that the expense of living was now, perhaps, hardly more than one-third of what it had previously been. The Colonial Parliament, therefore, decided at first on a reduction to £7000 a year, with a proviso that the Act

* In Victoria, the following persons received knighthood at different periods: Major General Edward Macarthur, late Commander of the Forces, and Acting Governor of the colony; Dr. Palmer, late Speaker of the old Assembly, now President of the Council; Dr. Murphy, Speaker; Mr. A'Beckett, late Chief Justice; Mr. Stawell, late Attorney-General, now Chief Justice; Mr. Justice Barry. Mr. La Trobe accepted the quieter honours of a C.B. In New South Wales, amongst others honoured, the late Speaker, Dr. Charles Nicholson, was raised to the rank of Baronet. Sir Charles, as a man of scientific and literary attainments, as well as political position, does not stand alone in his colony, which presents besides, the names of Dr. Bennett, Sir W. Macarthur, and the world-known Macleay.

was to take effect after the current tenure of the office had run the customary term (understood to be seven years). Exception, however, was taken to this proceeding by the Imperial Government, and for this reason, amongst others, that the Queen might be pleased to prolong the Governor's viceroyalty, in which case the reduction of salary might be held as inconsistent with implied engagements. The Act, therefore, was not ratified at home, a circumstance that caused some slight dissatisfaction in the colony at the time. After an interval, however, during which it was understood that Sir Henry Barkly was to be appointed elsewhere after the usual term, the salary for the future was fixed at £10,000, exclusive, of course, of a Government house, provided and kept in repair at the colony's expense. Sir Charles Darling reserved this Act for Imperial approval, according to the usual course in this question.

A history of colonial official salaries would portray not inaccurately the colony's general course of development, showing the small beginnings, the enormous increase, and the partial collapse, or, as the colony may, perhaps, claim to call the last phase, the consolidation. The earliest of its authorities, the Superintendent of 1839, begins with £800 a year. When Port Phillip is erected into a district in 1843, the salary is raised to £1500, and when it is a colony in 1851, there is an advance to £2500. After culminating at £15,000, the salary is reduced to £10,000—a reduction, however, that still leaves Victoria, as judged by this test, at the head of all the Imperial provinces, with exception of India.

The salaries of ministers have also obeyed the common reactionary tendency. We have alluded in a previous chapter to the small beginnings in this public

department in 1851. Subsequently, under the new constitution, the Chief Secretary, that is, the Premier, enjoyed £2500 a year, and each of his chief colleagues £2000. The former was afterwards reduced to £2000, in equality with the latter, while others of the ministry participated in the general economizing. There have been, more lately, still further reductions, and the following are the titles of officers and the respective salaries of the present ministry: Chief Secretary, £1800; Commissioner of Crown Lands, £1800; Attorney-General, £1600; Minister of Justice, 1600; Treasurer, £1600; Minister of Mines, £1400; Commissioner of Public Works, £1400; Commissioner of Railways and Roads, £1400; Commissioner of Trade and Customs, £1400. The President of the Legislative Council receives £1200, and the Speaker of the Assembly, £1500; while the Chief Justice receives £3000, the other Judges of the Supreme Court, £2500, and the Master in Equity and the County Court Judges each £1500 a year.*

Mr. M'Culloch's Government have not as yet projected any public measures beyond the promised amendment of the Land Law of 1862, enacted by their predecessors, and a new arrangement of the immigration laws, effected in August last. The latter had chiefly

* Continuing this list, in order to give the reader some notion of Victoria's chief public offices in that highly-important sense to the occupants, namely, the remuneration, I select some other chief instances: Under Secretary, £1000; Clerk of Executive Council, £1200; of Legislative Council, £1000; of Assembly, £1000; Collectors of Customs, Melbourne and Geelong, £1000 each; Sheriff, £1500; Chief Commissioner of Insolvent Estates, £1200; Registrar-General, £1000. Learning and science are fairly supported, amongst other instances, by £1000 a year to each of the four University Professors, and £1400 to the Government Geologist.

as before stated, the twofold object of securing for the colony, through the pecuniary aid of the State, a preponderating immigration of females, and also, that all State-assisted immigrants, whether male or female, should consist, as exclusively as possible, of persons who had a previous training in some way adapted to the colony's wants and circumstances.* For the present, however, only a comparatively small sum (£120,000) could be appropriated for the coming year, as the sales of the public lands, whose proceeds furnish the immigration fund, had been nearly suspended, until some amendment of the Land Law, satisfactory to the colony's Parliament, could be propounded. The important but difficult business of arranging satisfactorily for the outward voyage of the emigrants has been once more relegated to the Home Commissioners of Emigration, whose rules and precautions seem more to be depended on, and to result more favourably, than those of private parties.

Lands proceeds and immigration.

Prior to the time of self-government, the understanding arrived at between the colony and the Imperial Government had been that one half of the proceeds of land sales should be devoted to the assisting of the poorer population of the United Kingdom to emigrate to Victoria. These proceeds have since far exceeded anything, perhaps, that could have been anticipated at the first; so that the colony might very fairly feel at liberty to mingle with the question a consideration for its own welfare, even if the entire control of the subject, which now belongs to it, had not been conceded. One thing is highly desirable, whatever view is taken, and whatever disposition is made, of the large amount of the proceeds of land sales, that these great, but, as it were, casual and temporary resources; should not be

* This important subject is further illustrated in Chapter xxii.

considered as part of a system of permanent revenue, and thus lead or rather mislead the colony to base its system of finance upon so improper and precarious a foundation.* The colony, doubtless, has not lost sight of its considerable debt, although but little of it is yet due for nearly twenty years to come. The portion of this debt contracted for railway constructions, amounting to upwards of £8,000,000, or very nearly the whole, is, in all fairness, repayable out of the proceeds of the colony's lands, whose value the railways have enhanced. If there remain for sale but ten million acres of the colony's agricultural lands at 20*s.* an acre, it seems hardly too soon, even now, to make some beginning in yearly appropriations towards the railway debt.

Lands proceeds and public debt.

POSTSCRIPT TO CHAPTER X.

TRANSPORTATION TO WEST AUSTRALIA.

Revived opposition to transportation.

JUST as I end this historical sketch of the colony, there comes up an old subject—I will not, speaking as a colonist, call it an old friend—rearing its once familiar form that seemed to have been buried in Victoria for years past. This is the transportation question. I commenced my work under a sunshine of imperial and colonial relations; I have to conclude it while a cloud is over the bright zenith. The colony is in a fever of excitement; and that it is in real earnest is shown by the numerous public meetings throughout the country in which all classes of the people, from the Chief

* See our remarks on what is and what is not properly public revenue in the Treasurer's balance-sheet in Chapter xii.

Justice himself, and the Speaker of the Assembly, downwards, are taking an active part. The Anti-transportation League, of a dozen years back, has been reconstituted.

West Australia, and Report of H. M. Commission.

The cause of all this commotion is the report of the late royal commission in this country on penal discipline. That report, as is well known, strongly advised not merely a continuance, but a great increase, in the extent of the transportation to the present penal settlement of West Australia. So inveterate seems the hold of this costly and fortuitously irregular criminal system upon the Home mind, that it was opposed by only one member of the commission, Mr. Childers, M.P., who had the advantage of having personally resided in Australia, and who was formerly a member of the Victoria Government. The report advises, "that, with the exception of those who are physically unfit for it, all male convicts sentenced to penal servitude for any term of years, should be ultimately sent to Western Australia."

We may here say that we are now aware of what Victoria had not yet learned while in the state of alarm we have alluded to, namely, that the Home authorities had not intended to act upon that part of the commission's report referring to the increase of transportation.* Apprehensions must of course be diminished on this account. Nevertheless, we may still listen to

* This resolve was given forth, indeed, even prior to the news of the late high excitement in Victoria, as, for instance, in Mr. C. Fortescue's speech some months ago in Essex, where he remarked that, with reference to Australia's opposition, for the Imperial Government to project a further extension of the system was worthy only of the Stamp Act of last century. He added that transportation was to be continued to West Australia, but only in a small way, and even this perhaps only temporarily.

Australia's statement of the evils arising to her interests from the system just as it now stands, and judge if there is not a case made out already for an entire cessation—a result to which most probably Victoria, and indeed the other colonies around her also, will probably now press the question.

Victoria's appeal.

Victoria has sent an appeal to this country. The question is social rather than political, and therefore the appeal is to the people rather than to the government. One mail brings us a first appeal, hurriedly drawn up, it is stated, during the brief interval at command. By the next post there arrives to us a "second appeal," more carefully composed, and comprising well selected facts to illustrate the evils, direct and indirect, of past transportation, and to refute the oft hazarded assertion that the transported convicts of West Australia cannot injure the eastern colonies, because they cannot, and as a fact do not, with the most unimportant exceptions, quit the convict colony.

Injurious effects to Victoria.

On this latter point the League committee summon the head of the colony's detective police; and here is in brief Mr. Nicholson's account of the state of things for the time being:—"Twelve escaped convicts from Western Australia, have been within the last twelve months arrested and returned. Fifteen came into the bay, were watched, and went on to Sydney without landing here. Forty expirees and others of this class are known to be here, whom the police are powerless to return. The numbers arriving are increasing annually, and are difficult of detection, as they reach this through other free colonies, many through South Australia. They are the most dangerous and expert criminals with whom the police have to deal."

The appeal goes on to state that a vessel which,

about eight months before, had carried troops from West Australia to Sydney, carried thither also twenty West Australian convicts. To this testimony we may add a statement to a similar purport made by Mr. Torrens, of South Australia, on the recent occasion in this country of the annual dinner of the Law Amendment Society for 1863. In speaking against transportation to Australia, he mentioned that forty of the West Australia convict class had been lately landed at Sydney, one of whose number, who had been taken in charge by the police for drunkenness, was found to have secreted a complete set of pick-lock tools. These facts seem to warrant the statements current in Victoria, that "stow-aways" of this class leave West Australia by almost every vessel for the eastern colonies, their emigration, or escape, as the case may be, being rather connived at by those on board for the sake of their gratuitous services on the voyage. to New South Wales,

Port Adelaide, as being much nearer to West Australia than Melbourne, is still more exposed to the influx of the convicts, who, from thence, as noticed above, can pass easily and unnoticed into Victoria. As to this immigration, Mr. Newland, late police magistrate at Port Adelaide, gave evidence before the late commission in this country. He stated that out of 1300 persons who had arrived from Perth at Port Adelaide, during three years of his tenure of office, fully one half were, to his own knowledge, "expirees" or "conditional pardon men." The alarm occasioned by these arrivals, and the crimes that resulted, caused the colonial legislature to enact, in 1857, a preventive and extradition measure of self-defence. And yet, in spite of this act, no less than 184 persons of the same class succeeded in entering the colony during the following year. "Owing to South Australia.

to the proximity of this colony to Western Australia," states the South Australian Assembly's Address of October last to the Queen; "very many expirees have found their way here; and many of the offenders against the laws of this colony have been persons transported to Western Australia, who have subsequently settled in this colony, causing much additional expense in the administration of justice, and filling the inhabitants of this otherwise peaceable colony with alarm." These are the results of casual sea-communication only. The address further notices that the pastoral settlements of the east and west are mutually advancing, and rapidly narrowing the once great central waste of Australia; so that there will presently be added the facilities of communication by land, to such facilities as the sea only has hitherto supplied.

Counter-statements of West Australia.

Extraordinarily at variance with these facts are the statements of West Australia. That colony is now complaining, as of a kind of wrong done to her, that fewer convicts are sent out than were at first promised. We cannot, therefore, doubt her repeated assertion, that she is only too anxious to retain all that she does get permanently within herself. And yet, from many testimonies, she seems wholly unable to do so. But perhaps the contrariety of evidence in this case is more apparent than real. The West Australian evidence before the commission, for example, relates to "probationary convicts," of whom it is asserted that not even one has escaped, and to "ticket-of-leave men," of whom only forty-two had escaped in twelve years. But to the eastern colonies such descriptions and stages of sentence were utterly unimportant. Many years' practical experience had taught them and their police that the convict was still himself under all masks, whether a

probationer, a ticket-of-leave, a conditional pardon, or an expiree.*

Experience of convicts in Victoria.

Victoria has already had experience of penal colonies in a way that easily accounts for her present attitude. During the first years of gold-mining, the convict population of Tasmania literally swarmed into the colony, and an almost daily occurrence of the most atrocious crimes was the immediate result. At one of the late public meetings at Melbourne, held for the purpose of opposing transportation to West Australia, the chief justice, Sir W. F. Stawell, who was one of the speakers, remarked of these times, that "he was compelled to say that he believed that the convicts were the cause, either directly or indirectly, of all the crime which was committed in Victoria in the early days of the colony." The League, in its present appeal, alludes to the important consequence of the decrease of transportation in "the fact that, whereas in 1853, 554 persons who had been transported from the United Kingdom were convicted of offences in Victoria, only twenty-four such persons were convicted in 1862." And yet, even now, the cost of "police, jail, and penal establishments" is a very unusual and excessive amount as compared with that of any ordinary British society. The amount for the year 1860 was £411,074, or as much as 15s. per head of the population.

Results in Victoria and New South Wales.

Let us pause a moment on some of these data. 554 convictions during one year, in a population which in

* In the "Times" of 22nd January, 1864, Mr. Burges, late a magistrate of West Australia, still recites and confirms the opposing assertions of West Australian colonists, and he replies to Mr. Nicholson, by saying he is confident his statement is incorrect. And what as to that of the League, Mr. Torrens, and, above all, Mr. Newland, and the South Australian Legislature, to the like effect? Are all under a common illusion?

1853 numbered but 200,000! And these terrible proportions of crime, we must bear also in mind, are due only to the British convicts, and are altogether independent of the crime proper to the colonial society itself. This is an aspect of the transportation case which is seldom before the home public. Regarding the question as one of merely a pecuniary character, the many millions which the system has cost the Imperial Treasury, are far from its only expense. The convicts have been taken out of home society, but only to be placed in that of the colonies, upon which they will impress their mark for ages afterwards, in a constant round of crime on the part of many of their number, maintained as long as they can keep clear of prison and the gallows. The registrar-general of New South Wales, in his statistical volume for the year 1862, alludes to the present proportion of crime between the mother country and the colony. An average of several preceding years gave to New South Wales one commitment to 433 of population, while in England and Wales it was one to 647.* Victoria is still worse off than her sister, for her proportion is 1 to 375.

Now with regard to the foregoing facts, New South Wales, with her still large proportions of crime, has ceased for nearly a quarter of a century to be a convict colony, and has, during that long interval, been largely augmented by free immigration. Victoria was never convict, but her attractive territory has exposed her to a full share of the convict evil. We shall not properly realize the significance of these

* The actual recorded proportion is 1 to 1093, but the Registrar properly allows for the power given to the Home police benches to make summary convictions in certain cases, instead of sending them to the sessions.

criminal statistics unless we bear in mind that countries like our Australian colonies, of a temperate climate, full of industrial resources, and occupied by an offshoot of ordinary British society, ought scarcely to have experience of crime. Australia might have shown us its happiest minimum, but for transportation. Let the system even now at once totally cease, and for at least an age to come these colonies will be found levying annually upon their people a large extra taxation, to defray the expense of an extra measure of criminality, the result of their imperial mother's past policy.

Full cost of the system.

And is the case then a mere question of money? Those ruffians now on their trial are caught at last, after lives steeped in crime, and in the blood of the colony. Many others are still at large in the same career. Every crime tried represents, not merely itself, but the many more that have escaped justice, but from which colonial society has unhappily not escaped.

Both sides of the Convict Question.

Let us not overlook another side of the picture. May it not be said there are the benefits of imperial expenditure and convict labour. Have not these been enjoyed by Australia, and have they not reared the colonies? This is the physical against the moral argument. Society is degraded in one way, but is it not compensated in another? A parent or child is murdered, a wife or daughter outraged, but is there not an increased balance at the ledger? Certainly there were these benefits, and while Australia consisted, as to the non-convict part of her society, chiefly of a handful of employers, whose main object was to improve their circumstances, the system gave little offence, and was, in fact, accepted, and even invited by these colonists, just as now, with a similar handful in our slow-growing West Australia. It was the children of these colonists—

those who called Australia home—that rose against the system. Nay, the children of the convicts turned upon it; and to the lasting honour of Tasmania, the Anti-transportation League of 1851 originated in that colony.*

The system as an Imperial question.

Australia has usually hitherto restricted her arguments on the transportation question to what pertains to her own interests, without touching on the imperial policy of the case in general. But this time the League is provoked into a wider view, and takes notice of the admissions made by home judges and other high authorities, both as to the still crude state of the subject of home penal discipline, and the grave doubts entertained, even in England, as to transportation to Australia being regarded as a punishment at all by the worst classes of criminals. The late Lord Campbell is quoted as stating, "I think that if the country is to send people abroad as emigrants, and to take care of them, if you call that transportation, that, instead of being a punishment, it may be a reward." One is further reminded here of an event of still but recent occurrence, and following ominously upon the effort made about ten years ago in this country to substitute penal servitude at home for transportation. The event was the outbreak amongst the convicts in the hulks at Weymouth. When its cause was inquired into, it proved, to the consternation of the authorities, to have arisen from the discontent of the prisoners at learning that, under the new penal views of the Government, their old and accustomed privilege, as it might almost be called, of transportation to

* The League was originated amongst the many respectable free colonists of Tasmania, but I have heard both Mr. West and Mr. Weston, its leading chiefs, repeatedly acknowledge the aid and countenance their efforts received from the descendants of the convicts.

Australia was likely to be commuted into the real punishment of home penal servitude.

Fallacies as to convict labour.

There is in truth a strong temptation to those who, from residence in Australia, may have seen and heard much more than can be learned from the imaginative theories prevalent in England, to follow the example of the League in commenting on the whole case—its imperial as well as colonial relations. No fallacy is greater than that which used to prevail even in the colonies, and which still lingers at home, as to the value of convict labour. No doubt in some colonial pursuits, in that of squatting, for instance, a convict servant may fulfil his monotonous part as well as another, and if to be had at nominal wages, so much the better for his master; while, if vice and virtue be matters indifferent to society, so much the better also for the colony. At other kinds of work, however, "the Government stroke," as it is significantly termed in the colony, or "the art of how not to do it," is ruin to everything excepting an exhaustless public treasury. Roads and bridges have been constructed that convicts might be employed and theories made good; and if these works have cost three ordinary prices, that is an imperial and not a colonial question. It seems very hard for the colony to be finding fault with imperial liberality, for undoubtedly the colony has been benefited. But the benefit always premises that the accompanying vice is a thing indifferent to the colony's society.

Cost inadequate to results.

Many years ago an estimate of the cost of transportation showed that the mother country had expended on it about ten millions sterling, or £100 for each convict. That the expense continues to be, at any rate, not less than before, is shown by a late estimate of the first ten years of penal West Australia,

which gave the total cost to the Home Government as £180 for each convict transported there. It is not Australia's business to carp at such costly doings, if only they are directed away from her own door; but if her opinion were asked, she could doubtless testify to a terribly unsatisfying result from so terrible an outlay.

Sending criminals to a distance.

There ever seems in penal questions a charm in distance. Send the convict away somewhere, and the further the better. Victoria herself felt this temptation when, being oppressed with the British convicts soon after the gold discoveries, she cast about, in her turn for the best mode of relief. Hulks in Port Phillip or Portland Bay, and still more an island of Bass's Straits, were favourite notions of the time. After legislative inquiry and public discussion, the result arrived at was, that for purposes of safety to society, and of penal discipline and deterrent effect to prisoners, nothing was preferable to a substantial home prison. The nearer it was to the centres of crime and population, the surer the justice and the less the expense, while abuses too were ever fewer in proportion as the system lay exposed to the public eye. But distance has more disadvantages than either expense or a removal from the disciplinary oversight of the Government and public interested. The voyage to Australia is to the convict often more demoralizing than a whole lifetime of crime.*

* One of our latest testimonies on this head is from the Bishop of Perth (West Australia) who, in 1857, adventured to his remote diocese in a convict ship, the "Nile," with 270 prisoners. From his lordship's account we may gather that the cabin or 'tween decks where these men were, was not unfrequently more like a den of roaring wild beasts than an assemblage of men; and was such that at these times no warder or other officer of any kind could possibly descend to exercise authority with personal safety.

The Home Government will do well to mark the progress of a fresh danger besides that of West Australia, that is just opening upon these southern colonies. The French Government have at length imitated that of England, and New Caledonia is to be a French penal settlement. The first party of convicts, two hundred and fifty in number, sailed from Marseilles on the 4th January, 1864, for the French Pacific colony. Above ten years ago, when the island was first appropriated by France, there was an unpleasant rumour current in Australia, which had just then succeeded in her anti-transportation battle with Britain, as to the intention of making the new colony one of a penal character. Events would suggest that English example has not been without influence on France in this business. Shortly after the time in question, England announced her views on transportation as entirely changed, and as being in favour of home penal servitude. After the idea has been in abeyance ten years, has France been re-inspired by the late Commission's Report, which would fain restore to the transportation idol the whole extent of its costly temple?

French penal colony of New Caledonia.

We have already remarked that most probably the colonists will not now abandon this agitation until they have procured a total abolition of the transportation system as regards any part of Australia. They will show the greater obstinacy from the circumstance that their views and resolutions have been already, as by anticipation, endorsed by very high authority. That authority is no other than the British Government, which, above ten years ago, condemned the system as bad alike to mother and colony. "We say," states the League in its late appeal, "that we have her Majesty's

Total exemption of Australia promised.

royal word, pledged in the speech which opened the Parliament of 1853, and that of her minister, his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, given in the House of Lords on the 17th February of the same year, that transportation to Western Australia should 'only continue for a very short time and to a limited extent. But with regard to Van Diemen's Land, and all other Australian colonies, no further convicts would be sent to them.'" The space that has elapsed since these words were spoken is already more than a short time in the rapid life of colonies.*

* The discussion on transportation in the House of Commons on the 18th February, 1864, adds some fresh light to the case of Eastern *versus* Western Australia. Mr. Fortescue admitted there had been exaggerated reports from the Eastern Colonies, but alluded to the formidable fact that in West Australia, as early as 1859, as many as 1600 were missing of those who had arrived as convicts. This is number enough to justify all the outcry, even after allowing for deaths, for some few returns to England, and for some still fewer who might have been in the colony without their original condition being recognized—very unlikely cases in the small community. We must remember, too, that the restless and the worst of the class generally leave, and the quieter remain. Mr. Nicholson's very unfavourable report of the West Australia expirees in Victoria is thus at once confirmed and accounted for. Experience of this fact, indeed, tended to preserve a lingering toleration of the convict system among the great squatting employers of the interior, even in the Eastern Colonies themselves, after it had been condemned in the more settled districts. The squatters asserted that they did not even lock their doors. The quieter convicts remained with them; but the bolder spirits of the order were not satisfied with herding sheep. Both Mr. Fortescue and Mr. Childers alluded to the case of the ship "Merchantman," from this country to West Australia, which, after landing 182 convicts, passed on to Sydney with 240 passengers from the colony. Of these, report at first gave forty as of the convict class, but the real number was only fourteen. Either way, however, the colony was gaining a loss in more than one sense. It further appeared, as Mr. Fortescue mentioned, that by last advices 200 prisoners had accumulated in the depôt waiting employment and tickets-of-leave, but without any employers.

CHAPTER XI.

THE POPULATION, COLONIAL AND ABORIGINAL.

The British and the Foreign elements—The Gold-fields' nationalities—Increase of population of Victoria—Sexes unequal—Climate and its adaptation—Home features in the Colony—Religion of the people—The Chinese; peculiarities and manners—Restrictions upon their entering the Colony; also in South Australia and New South Wales—Chinese protest at a public meeting—Restrictions partly withdrawn—The Australian natives—Inferior to New Zealanders—Diminishing population—Civilizing efforts, and poor results—The Moravians, and proposed New Missions—Tribes already disappearing—Probable early extinction of race.

Foreign element small.

CONSIDERING the repute of the Victoria gold-fields, and the great influx of people from nearly all parts of the world, we might have expected to find in the colony a population of a very miscellaneous character, and, to a great extent, non-British. This, however, is not the case, and but for the very noticeable dimensions of "the Chinese inroad," the foreign element would have been unimportant. By the last Census' returns, those, namely, of April, 1861, the total foreign proportion amounted to about ten per cent., of which one-half was Chinese and one-fifth German.

British population.

On the point of British nationality in Victoria, these were the prominent facts. Only a little more than one-fourth of the total population were born in Victoria, while those born in the British Isles had still the large

proportion of six-tenths of the whole. These six-tenths, representing the home emigration, are pretty fairly proportioned to the respective populations of our home subnational divisions, excepting as to Scotland, which has relatively outnumbered her neighbours in the emigrating throng. The proverbial ardour of my countrymen to quit their "native heath" for more promising soils has resulted in a proportion of emigration to Victoria of about double that of England, Wales, and Ireland. One rather remarkable feature of this section of the census is that the proportion of the population born in the Australasian colonies outside of Victoria was less than four per cent. One would have expected larger proportions under this particular head from the intercommunications of neighbours of the same race and language, and existing under one general government, in addition to the influences of the gold-fields. The fact shows a certain segregative tendency in each colonial population—a fast adherence in each unit to his own home and colonial boundaries, which is probably the early symptom of the diverging lines that are to constitute the separate nationalities of some far future.

Gold-fields' population.

Certainly on the subject of mixed population, the gold-fields of Victoria have now a less foreign, as they have happily a less rowdy aspect than they presented in the earlier years. Many of those groups of miscellaneous nationalities that were at first a proverbial feature of Australian gold-fields' life, must have returned to their various homes, after they had gone through their trial and their disappointment of gold-digging in Victoria. An incident, confirmatory of this view, is alluded to in the Report of the Gold-fields' Inquiry Commission of 1854-5. It is now long, I believe, since any New

Zealand natives were seen at the Victoria mines. Nevertheless, at an earlier stage, a considerable number of them seem to have been tempted across the seas under the prevailing impulse. A body of three hundred of these people, at Bendigo, states the report, alluding to the early years of the diggings, "under confused notions of a late agitation in that quarter with the Chinese, had tendered their services to the authorities, under the impression that the roads were blockaded with rebels, who would prevent their getting back to their country."* But after all, the great accessions to the population, which, since the gold discoveries in the year 1851, have raised the population from about eighty thousand to upwards of half a million, have been British of some kind or other, belonging either to the parent country or to her world-wide empire.

Increase of population.

The present distinguishing position of Victoria, as regards population and commerce, is mainly due to the gold-fields. The Census of 1851, the year in which the gold was discovered, gave the colonial population as 77,345. Ten years previously it was only 11,738; but in 1861, ten years subsequently, it was 540,322. This is an average yearly increase for these last ten years of 21½ per cent. But the increase has been exceedingly irregular, and there has been a marked falling off during the later years, so much so that since 1857 the increase averages only 7·1 per cent. per year. After the first effects of novelty and wonder communicated by gold-mining, the colony lost much of its rapidly-acquired population in a re-emigrating throng of the disappointed

* Report, p. li. A New Zealander still lingers here and there on the Victoria gold-fields, as I see by a late newspaper, come to hand since the above was written, that one of that race had found, at Bendigo, a nugget of above seventeen pounds weight.

and dissatisfied, who found their newly-tried home, in its disturbed social and trading relations, a scene of expense and discomfort. Victoria has, in fact, even yet hardly recovered from her ill repute in this respect. The colony is now again a cheap country, presenting to its people a settled and pleasant home. But just when this returning favour might bring the wished-for accessions of people that are necessary to greatness and success, a new trouble crosses the colony's prospects. The attractive gold discoveries of the last two years in New Zealand have been drawing off Victoria's population much as Victoria herself was wont to attract that of the adjacent colonies ten or a dozen years ago. The population of Victoria has, therefore, scarcely at all increased during the interval of this latest struggle of the rival gold-yielding settlements. The numbers which, in April, 1861, were 540,000, are but 655,000 two years afterwards.

Inequality of sexes.

The labours of Mrs. Chisholm and Miss Rye have familiarized us with a great social defect of all remote colonies, more especially during their earlier years. There is a grievous inequality in the relative numbers of the sexes; and which of the sexes it is that wants the due proportions amongst the hardy pioneering bands that emigrate to far-off countries, it is not difficult to guess. A colonist would say, with the instinctive gallantry of the situation, and in the mercantile spirit that values most what is in least supply, that it was the better half of humanity that was short. This better half, then, is still very short of its due proportions in Victoria. The effects of the gold-fields have, by the large immigration of male colonists, upset for a time the gradually approaching balance of numbers previously visible. More, lately, however, a growing

rectification has been once more apparent. The Census of 1861 indicates that the colony then possessed, in its total population, but 651 females to 1000 males; but in 1857 there were only 554 females to the thousand of the other sex. The adjacent colony of South Australia shows, in this respect, the better social fortunes of a country undisturbed by gold-mining, as the sexes, according to the last Census, are already nearly balanced with 65,048 males to 61,782 females. In Victoria, the Chinese and aborigines, whose numbers are included in these estimates, help the disparity of the sexes in the general reckoning. The former especially present most inadequate proportions, as there were but eight females amongst a total of 24,732 Chinese. The aborigines consisted of 648 females and 1046 males.

Vital statistics.

If the colony enjoys but a restricted measure of the sunshine of woman's presence in society, it may take same solace in the large share of a more literal sunshine. An Australian is wont to boast of his climate. The bright southern sky compares cheerfully with the clouds of old England. There are hot winds, to be sure, but, like the snakes, centipedes, and soldier-ants of the same country, they are always most terrible to those who have never known them. The vital statistics, however, do show a considerably increased mortality among the population during the warmest part of the year. On a minuter inspection, this increase is found to pertain to children under five years of age. With those above that age, the tables for 1861 show the results to be rather of a contrary kind, and give some increase of mortality rather to autumn and winter. In the infancy years again, the deaths during the hot season, from January to April, were double of those during the opposite season, July to November.

Climate; mean temperature.

The climate is changeable in its weather and temperature, so that the very pleasant feelings we naturally associate with a mean yearly temperature of something less than 58° are not the common experience. But there is withal, notwithstanding frequent and sudden changes, a large proportion of healthful and enjoyable weather. If the observations be all accurately taken, the results show an extraordinary diversity of climate for different parts of the colony. For instance, the mean temperature of Melbourne for 1861 was 57·7°; of Ballarat, 53·1°, and of Heathcote, 65·1°. The greatest degree of heat recorded at Melbourne during that year was 98·4°, and the lowest temperature 31·8°, or just the sufficiency of frost to give the Melbourne citizens the thin film of ice of a clear July morning that annually reminds them of Christmas and home. A degree of heat as high as 103·2° was recorded at Sandhurst, and as low as 28·2 at Ballarat.*

Home aspects reproduced.

But if the climate is decidedly different from that of home, there is a British aspect generally throughout the colony as regards the people and their vocations. If, indeed, we look beyond the colonists and their handiwork, beyond the towns with their respective mayors and corporations, and outside of the fields and gardens with their pears and apples, cabbages and potatoes, the eye soon catches features in the evergreen gum-tree forest, with its kangaroo tenantry and half-naked aborigines, that with the bright warm sun

* Victoria, with a mean temperature of about 58°, fairly represents her central position among the colonies. New South Wales is about 66°, South Australia 63°, Tasmania 53°, New Zealand from 50° to 60°, Otago having the former temperature, and Auckland the latter. London is 49°3 and Edinburgh 47°.

above, tell the beholder he is far indeed from his native Britain. But already in localities innumerable he may look upon the waving cereals ripening to the harvest, the farm and cottage life that reproduce the parent country, and all the usual productions and industrial callings of the other hemisphere, set off by the presence of the grape, the melon, and the peach, the gift of a more genial clime.

Ruder colonial traits.

These are the appearances in the colony's favour; but it has its ruder aspects as compared with the home picture. The early colonists were content with very indifferent dwellings. They came out with the resolution "to rough it," and doubtless few were disappointed in this particular. But there was a gradual mending in this part of the case, and especially in the larger towns. The great and sudden rush to gold-mining once more restored some aspects of the primitive rudeness, and the return to all kinds of make-shift domiciles. There has, however, even on the soiled and rugged scene of the gold-fields been already great improvement. Large towns have sprung up alongside of the chief mines. According to the last Census Ballarat had over 22,000 inhabitants, Sandhurst over 13,000, and Castlemaine nearly 10,000. All enjoy telegraphic and railway communication with the capital and the chief seaports, and revel in the luxury of municipal institutions and daily local newspapers. And yet the same Census states that no less than 100,849 persons were living throughout the colony in tents or under canvas roofs, while 32,614 more resided in bark or slab, or mud huts. Very comfortable places some of these "huts" were in the old times of squatting or rural hospitality in the colony; but doubtless bricks and mortar must ever hold a more advanced signi-

fication upon the Census roll. These, therefore, are formidable indications of the primitive rudeness still pertaining to colonial life. There is, however, a race of improvement going on, for we observe that these Census results of 1861 are appreciably superior to those of 1857. With the smaller population of the latter year, we see that 140,892 persons, or more than one-third of the whole colonial population were living in tents, or in like temporary dwellings.

Religion of the people; Australia.

The parent state is powerfully reproduced to the colonist in one very important relation of the people, namely, their religion. The home religious bodies all reappear at the antipodes. If we view the United Kingdom as a whole, in regard to the relative proportions of its religious bodies, and compare it with Australia, the two parts of the empire very fairly accord. The Church of England comprises from two-fifths to one half of the whole, and the Church of Rome from one-fifth to one-fourth. The colonial Census roll is distinguished from that of home by a Lutheran heading, due to the German colonists, and by a considerable "Pagan" element, in consequence of the numbers of the Chinese. But a paramount distinction in the colonial case consists in the absence of any State Church establishment, or of any substantial privilege to any one religious body over another.

Religion and the Census; Victoria.

With regard to Victoria, the formularies of the last Census, that of 1861, amongst important changes upon past modes, presented a column for religion, but without any compulsion as to filling it up. This plan was then adopted for the first time, and it was adopted too after British example. Each person described his own religion, or if unwilling to do so, he wrote instead the word "object." The consequences of this freedom

and immunity were not of so diverse and heterogeneous a character as might have been inferred from the supposed tendencies in the case. There were in all twenty-seven different Christian denominations thus voluntarily described, and a remnant of 14,569 who were returned as "unspecified," and of which number 11,536 persons objected, from conscientious scruples, to state their religion. The Church of England comprised almost two-fifths of the whole Victorian population, and the Church of Rome almost one-fifth. There were several small bodies with unusual names, such as the Evangelical Church of England, with 80 followers, and the Free Church of England with 350. Presbyterians ranged under three divisions; the Welsh under four, namely, Welsh Calvinistic Methodist, Welsh Congregation, Welsh Independent, and Welsh Baptist; each of the four bodies being very few in numbers. There were also, and in a similar predicament as to numbers, a Union Church, Christians or disciples of Christ, Bible Christians, Christian Israelites, and Catholic Apostolics. The main divergence of feature from the home roll consisted in 10,043 Lutherans, and 26,223 "Pagans;" the latter being the very unceremonious "denomination," and common tomb prepared by the European "barbarian" for the high pretensions of the Chinaman.

The Chinese.

Formed a marked social feature.

In truth no foreign or anti-British feature in the colony is more decided than that arising from the presence of so many Chinese. To the colonists, however, they must by this time, after ten years' association, be familiar enough. And yet they have not been absorbed into the body political and social of the

colony, but seem an indigestible mass within the colony's system. The Registrar-general has an ominous-looking practice, when giving, as it were, the normal results of the population, of stating that they are "exclusive of Chinese and Aborigines." When again he would give us the total population, such as all accidents had made it, it is specially stated to be "inclusive of Chinese and Aborigines." This is a sad association for the natives of the flowery land, and a repayment, with good interest, for their contempt of the outside barbarians who in turn visit and colonize with themselves.

Chinese incidents,

And yet the Chinamen of Victoria necessarily take up collateral positions with the other colonists. There is a "Chinese quarter" of Melbourne, where truck and traffic are as busy as in any other. Chinese sue and are sued; and when they cannot get their debts paid, or from other causes drift astern, they land like others in the Colonial Insolvent Court. From some late Melbourne news we learn that they are quite as vigorous at smuggling also as any of their Christian fellow colonists. Again, there are prosperous merchants, some of whom are large shippers of gold to China, and importers of Chinese goods. In a late number of the "Victoria Illustrated Paper," amongst the portraits of colonial notabilities, there is one of Kong Meng, of the house of Kong Meng and Co., Chinese merchants of Melbourne.

And characteristics.

The great proportion of the Chinese live and labour on the gold-fields. Nearly a third of them, however, as appears from the last Census, reside in different towns of the colony, including a large proportion in the towns at the gold-fields. But much the largest and the most diversified gathering of town residents is

in Melbourne. "The Chinese quarter," commonly so called, is in one of the smaller or back streets of Old Melbourne, called Little Bourke Street East, now almost in the very centre of the expanded city. Here have arisen all kinds of Chinese trading establishments, from those of wholesale and import merchants, who are the aristocracy of colonial commerce, to druggists and opium manufacturers, butchers and other tradesmen, restaurant-keepers, and an array of lodging-house keepers, both reputable and otherwise. Another favourite part of the city to the Chinese is Emerald Hill, where a club-house, often confused by the colonists with a "Joss house," or Chinese church, has existed for some time. These club-houses, of which several have arisen both in Melbourne and elsewhere, represent associations composed of Chinese who come respectively from some one or other district of the many sections of the empire territory of their nation, and who respectively speak the same dialect.

Names of business firms.

Living in general quietly and inoffensively, and thus not attracting much public notice, their customs are, nevertheless, very distinct from those of the surrounding colonists. One curious feature is the names assumed by trading firms, which in general are not those of the partners, or of any one else, but of a fanciful or attractive, and recommendatory character, like titles or mottoes. Thus, says a Melbourne paper, "The Age," in an interesting article on the Chinese, "'Kong Meng and Co.,' for instance, means neither more nor less than Bright Light (in the sense of illustrious) Firm; 'Sun Kum Lee and Co.,' New Golden and Unimpeachable Firm; 'Gee On and Co.,' Righteous and Peaceable (or civil and fair dealing) Company; 'Tung Hop,' the United Agreement Company; 'Sun

Kwong Hop' signifies the New and Extensive Agreement Company; 'Kwong Tu Tye,' the Broad, Flourishing and Peaceful Company; and 'Hi Cheong,' the Peace and Prosperity Firm. The only exceptions to this rule are 'Amo and Co.,' 'Afford and Co.,' and 'Rum Kan Lee,' which all contain the names of merchants, the latter being 'Kans Golden' (or rich) and Unimpeachable Firm. The medical halls are in the same way distinguished, as 'Tung Chung Tong,' Equal Spring (of health, long life, and happiness) to All; 'Kwong Chye Chenk,' Bright (or illustrious diffuser of) Charity and Prosperity; 'Ah Gye and Co.,' the exception, being the name of a proprietor."

Manners and morals.

The Chinese in general set a good example in both food and drink. An intoxicated Chinaman is a very rare spectacle. As the case was, in this alcoholic respect, very different with many of the other colonists, sober John Chinaman, it was said, found many opportunities that were altogether irresistible, of avenging old grudges upon tipsy John Bull as he staggered forth from his potations. Many, however, seem incurably addicted to gambling. But this vice is strongly reprehended by the more respectable of the Chinese body, and any person known to be addicted to it is refused employment.

Smuggling.

We have alluded to smuggling. Quite recently, in the course of last year, 1863, a very ingenious system of fraud of this kind, which seemed to have been long continued, and conducted on rather a large scale, was detected amongst the Chinese by the Government. Suspicion was aroused by the lowness of the prices at which opium, professedly duty paid, was sold by the Chinese dealers, as well as by the smallness of the sum received by the Customs for duties, as com-

pared with the apparent largeness of the trade. The mode by which the smuggling was effected, consisted in interspersing amongst a number of boxes of opium, which is an article subject to a very high rate of duty, a few other externally similar packages, but filled with non-dutiable goods, and distinguished by some private mark. These latter the Melbourne consignee of the shipper in China, by an obliging dexterity, always supplied to the Customs' officer, as if they were fair samples of the whole, and taken apparently quite at random. An immediate rise in the price of opium at all the Chinese stores was the result of this detection, and supplied a truer answer to the authorities than John Chinaman's expression of surprise when the "mistake" of his shipping friends in China was announced to him.

Addicted to suicide.

In their tendency to smuggling, the Chinese are perhaps no worse than their European brethren. In a vicious tendency of a different kind we are happily inferior to them. Their proneness to commit suicide has lately induced the interference of the Victoria authorities. One of the Chinese prisoners at Ballarat having been found to have succeeded in taking away his life by means of his tail, this most cherished adornment of every Chinaman was ordered to be cut off from the head of every Chinese prisoner. Forthwith, twenty-three heads were thus dealt with, and dishonoured; and we may hardly doubt that the consternation inspired by the proceeding will show its good effect in the Chinese department of the colony's future criminal statistics.

Restrictions on their coming.

As the subject of Chinese immigration into Australia may still possess interest and novelty to readers in this country, we shall devote a few pages to its elu-

cidation. General attention, not to say alarm, as to the Chinese was raised by the Gold-fields Inquiry Commission, who, to their own great astonishment, and as they apprehended to that of the colony generally, found that ten thousand of the race were already within Victoria. "Their presence in such large masses," states the Report, "must certainly tend to demoralize colonial society by the low scale of domestic comfort, by an incurable habit of gaming, and other vicious tendencies, and by the examples of degrading and absurd superstition." Even while the Commission were engaged in drawing up their Report, four vessels, arriving at Port Phillip from China within four successive weeks, had landed above fourteen hundred Chinamen. "All are coming to the golden harvest," said a Chinese witness; and forthwith our British nationality seemed on the eve of being drowned in a Mongolian ocean. The Commission deemed it desirable to apply a check; and in order that this might be as little invidious or destinctive as possible, they recommended that it should be in the form of a pecuniary fine upon arrival, to the extent say of £10 per head.

Restrictions in Victoria.

The question caused some debate, and developed much difference of opinion; but the Legislature, in the same year, 1855, imposed the £10 fine, which extended to every Chinese landed, as well as to any Chinese passengers or crew brought by the ship in a greater proportion than one Chinaman to each ten tons of the vessel's dimensions. Still the Chinamen poured in, taking now the way of South Australia, by landing at Guichen Bay, and walking overland to the Victoria gold-fields. This procedure, which gave the colony the Chinamen without the advantage of the accompanying commerce at the seaport, led to an alteration in the

abolition of the tonnage restriction. After a while, however, South Australia herself passed a like deterrent measure, in aid of the sister colony's policy. The imperturbable enemy now took his passage from China to Sydney, whence, although by a very tedious and costly journey, he succeeded in his object by duly presenting himself in Victoria.

In South Australia.

Once inside of that colony, the Chinaman was quick to perceive that he could claim to be as well protected and as little disturbed as any one else. This was doubtless a solace for the indignities to which he was exposed if he attempted to enter by the proper and usual doorway; and perhaps he perplexed his wits more than enough to comprehend why the authorities so strongly opposed his entry by this right road, only to embrace him with paternal protection when he came by the wrong one. The authorities and the public seem to have fallen into a similar perplexity, and in view of the still open road of New South Wales, they proposed to apply an additional drag to the overwilling wheels. Accordingly in the year 1859 a fine of £4 per head was imposed upon all Chinese arriving in the colony by land, while each Chinese miner within Victoria was subjected to a special tax of £1 per quarter.

Restrictions increased in Victoria.

These new measures, and especially the last one, caused a great commotion amongst the Chinese, and induced many of them to turn their attention to mining in New South Wales, where as yet there were no differential regulations. While the measures were still pending, the Chinese held a public meeting at Castlemaine, at which from thirteen to fourteen hundred Chinamen were present. The main object was declared to be to protest against the proposed tax of £1 per quarter, leviable specially on Chinamen. Chu-

Chinese complain.

a-luk, a Chinese missionary, acted as interpreter, and Pon-sa made a speech.

Pon-sa's speech.

The new tax, said Pon-sa, would be too heavy, as even the miner's right of £1 a year, which they were then paying, was too heavy for some of them. They were mostly all very poor, and had not anything to spare, even to send home to their wives, some of whom were dying through want. Englishmen behaved badly to the Chinese, and drove them away from any places in the gold-fields that proved, after Chinese prospecting, to be worth working. And yet his people were content with "tailings" and places abandoned by the colonists. Alluding to the objection that their wives did not accompany them, Pon-sa stated that, from the smallness of their feet, they could not go about and endure fatigue, and that there was a fear of their being abused by the Englishmen; while the wives themselves preferred to stay at home. A petition was drawn up and signed, praying that the proposed tax might not become law.

Partial repeal in Victoria.

Although the proposed measures were passed in due course at that time, they were subsequently repealed; and there seems now an increasing desire to see the last remaining bar, the £10 fine upon arrival by sea, swept away, as the immigration has not, after all, been of the alarmingly large character that had been anticipated.

Imposed in New South Wales.

In the meantime a strong agitation on the subject had arisen in New South Wales, as many of the Chinese had halted on the southern gold-fields of that colony in their journey to Victoria, and in particular, as we have seen, at the gold-fields near Yass, where they were to be counted by thousands. They were also now streaming back into New South Wales from inhos-

pitable Victoria. The Parliament of the former colony was divided on the question of restrictive legislation, the Assembly being hostile to the Chinese, against whom it had repeatedly passed very stringent enactments, while the Council as often opposed such discrimination, and rejected the measures. But at length, in November, 1861, the refractory Upper House came to terms, and a measure, fully as restrictive as any that Victoria had enacted, was passed, came into operation in the following February, and duly received the Royal assent. But so various and changeable are the views of the Australian public on the subject, that precisely at the time New South Wales was passing this law, South Australia, it appears, was abolishing its Chinese immigration restrictions; while Victoria during the session of the same season had taken off the special residence tax, so bemoaned by Pon-sa and his compatriots.

Reflections on the question.

A system of deliberate exclusion of any people is a most invidious and undesirable course of legislation. It gives a bad example to the world, while the social evils it assumes to check are partly at least only matter of theory. Hence the strength of the opposition. But the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, spoke the general mind of the time, when, at a public meeting held at Melbourne in the year 1857, connected with Chinese missions, he alluded to the undesirableness of the large Chinese immigration, and the propriety of checking the very threatening aspect the subject bore at that time by means of a special taxation. He approved of the plan, which indeed was that adopted by the Government of specially reserving the proceeds of this taxation for Chinese purposes, and for expenses occasioned by their presence in the colony.

Chamber of Commerce oppose restriction.

The latest voice on the subject comes from the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce, which in the month of May, 1862, petitions the Victoria Government against the continuance of the head money. The Chamber is thoroughly commercial, and has an eye only to business. It regards indeed as groundless the apprehensions as to any very great immigration, seeing that the emigrating Chinamen come from only one district of China, that of Kwang Tong, which contains but sixteen millions of people. But the petition goes on to tell how injuriously the restriction has operated on the colony's commercial interests. It has reduced the number of the Chinese in the colony from 40,000 to 24,000. And further, a careful calculation has shown that, but for such legislation, the numbers might have reached 75,000, whose yearly expenditure would have amounted to £3,000,000, with a contribution to revenue of £300,000, arising from the duty on gold and consumption of dutiable goods. By this argument the colony would have been immensely the better of the whole sixteen millions. One may hope, however, on higher grounds of view, that as the alarm on social considerations seems allayed, the colony may find itself able to dispense with such ungenerous and unfraternal legislation.

The Aboriginal Natives.

Inferior to New Zealanders.

Our last considerations in this chapter are for the aboriginal natives. In view of the New Zealand native war, which as we now write is, by the latest accounts, of such threatening import, who is to despise the aboriginal occupants of our great Australian Empire? The Australian native, however, has always, in presence of the colonist, been a very different being from the

New Zealander. The New Zealand journals, as they sum up the thousands of Maorie fighting men, seem impressed that well nigh an equal number of disciplined troops is by no means too large a force for the brave and wily foe. But as to Australian warriors of aboriginal descent, if any lingering notion had survived to us that they, in any numbers however large, could oppose a force of colonists however small, it has been effectually dissipated by the experience of the late Australian exploring parties, who never failed to find that a force of less than a dozen Europeans might traverse all Australia with perfect safety.

A New Zealand Warrior.

The New Zealand war will furnish many striking instances of the superiority of the Maorie to the Australian. Take as one such the following letter, which was found on the field after the fight of Kohira on 17th July last (1863), and which had evidently been written shortly before the encounter with the hated "Pakeha" by one New Zealand chieftain to another :—

"Taramakoe, July 8, 1863.

"Friend Witara,—Salutations to you; salutations to you all, O people. Great is my love to you. This again is my word; listen all of you in future; cleave to God, that He may be our friend; because I have heard that you have worked, therefore I write to you that you cleave to the faith.

"In the war between the Philistines and Israel God was the friend of David, and Goliath, the great and very valiant man, was killed by David. If it had been David alone, Goliath would not have died; but God was with David, and that great man was killed.

"Even so, this is a sign for us, if we trust in our own strength. That is wrong; rather rest upon God.

"Friends! Fathers! let us walk circumspectly. O people! hold fast to God, and take heed lest God be angry with us.

"Let the Governor be first, and you afterwards, and it will be well, lest you be like this; for Aporo was first, and he has been caught: for Aporo is a payment for your evil.

"Friends, salutations to you. O people! salutations to you. This is all from your brother, in the grace of God.

"*From* HAKARAIA TE KUBA ATAIWHAKAEA."

Here is a "war Christian" of a new order. Truly he turns the tables with a vengeance upon the colonist and his faith. This is a different picture from the first and earlier one sketched by the humour of Sydney Smith, which represents every sideboard of the unbelieving cannibals of that day as supplied with the standard dish of "cold missionary." If the New Zealander has eaten the missionary, he has, after his own fashion, swallowed his faith also. But at any rate we have before us a scope and vigour of religious and monotheistic thought, of which the Australian native is wholly incapable.

Present native population.

The case of the aborigines in Victoria confirms the conclusions derived from other sources, by which it would almost seem an immutable law of nature that such inferior dark races should disappear—people hardly see how—before the white colonist. Their number in Victoria, as shown by the Census of 1861, was 1694, of whom, as we have already said, 1046 were males and 648 females. By the previous Census of 1857 they were returned at 1768. But both enumerations are supposed to have been rather below the truth. The Central Board for Protection of Aborigines vouches for the existence of at least 1860 natives throughout the colony in the month of August, 1861. Perhaps even this number is still slightly short; but they cannot be estimated to exceed two thousand.*

Great diminution.

The number of the aboriginal population that existed within the present colonial area prior to the colonists' arrival is not very accurately known, but it

* Vict. Regis. General, for 1861.

was certainly much greater than it is ascertained to be now. The Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council of Victoria, of January, 1859, gives this earlier number at from six to seven thousand, an estimate, perhaps, rather below those that were formed on the subject in times nearer to the date in question, especially when the numerous native tribes on the banks of the Murray, as met with by Mitchell and other travellers, were taken into account. The causes of diminution, says this Report, have been conspicuously drunkenness, and the exposure and consequent disease too often resulting from this vice. Mr. Thomas, one of the native protectors, gives an apt illustration. Four or five natives, he tells the Committee, were found one morning bedded in the mud, not dead, but drunk. Under exposure of this kind, the chest is readily affected, and in that case the poor creatures die rapidly and inevitably.

More intelligent in North Australia.

In the northern parts of Australia generally, the native races are better-conditioned, and seemingly more intelligent, than towards the south. This is particularly the case along the north-eastern coast, where they have good canoes for navigation, and where, too, they have been found even to dig the soil with shells, apparently for some purpose of cultivation. In these tropical parts supplies of food are more regular and plentiful, and the warmer climate is more congenial to the wandering and exposed mode of life, and the almost nude condition of the people. Possibly, therefore, in tropical Australia, when colonization has made further progress, the natives may prove useful to the colonists. In Queensland, already a considerable number are engaged in colonial service upon squatting stations. The colonists there, however, have experienced, as to these

But more dangerous.

aboriginal superiorities, that the power to do good may be turned to doing evil, a massacre of unprecedented extent and atrocity having lately taken place at one of the pastoral stations in the far interior. This shocking event occurred on the 17th October, 1861, at the newly-formed pastoral station of Mr. Wills, and resulted in the murder of that gentleman and eighteen of his family and servants; in fact, of his whole establishment, excepting two or three, who succeeded in making their escape. There seem to have been about three hundred of the natives, who, doubtless, alarmed and offended by the unceremonious invasion of their country, had planned a simultaneous onset while the whole colonist party were scattered about, unconscious of danger, each occupied with his daily vocation. Summary vengeance, however, was promptly taken. A few days afterwards a well-armed party, numbering eleven colonists, started in pursuit, and, coming upon the blacks, stormed their camp at daybreak, and put them to flight, after killing thirty of their number.

Civilizing efforts mostly in vain.

In Victoria, the blacks have ceased to be dangerous to the colonists, but, on the other hand, they are very little available in the colony's industrial life. Success in this way, as indeed in any other, towards civilizing the native, and putting him to use, has been most slender and discouraging. Only thirteen aborigines were resident within municipal towns in the census year 1861. The gold-fields, indeed, possessed a certain force of attraction even to the Australian native, for there were, in that year, one hundred and forty-seven of them in these districts.

Considerable efforts were some years ago put forward on behalf of the aborigines of Victoria, but were afterwards almost entirely withdrawn, in consequence of

repeated want of success. But within the last year or two missionary efforts are again called forth, chiefly under the encouragement of some slight success that has latterly attended a mission of the Moravians.

The government. The Government, in the year 1838, instituted a Protectorate; three years afterwards they formed a native police force out of the Melbourne and Western Port tribes, and in 1846 a native school. During thirteen years £61,000 was thus expended without any important results. Private efforts commenced with a Wesleyan Mission at Buntingdale in 1838, where for a short space some hopes of success were aroused by the plan of isolating the tribes from each other, and preventing them, as much as possible, from continuing their usual wandering mode of life. But as such plans were to the aboriginal almost tantamount to a negation of existence, and deprived him of all motives and enjoyments, he soon rebelled against civilization, and, in spite of cottages and gardens, daily employment and daily food, he was off once more, and with renewed relish, to his native wilds. There was also an Anglican Episcopal Mission in 1853.

Private efforts.

The most persistent of these missions, as well as the most successful, if such a word may be used for the infinitesimals of the case, has been that of the Moravians, which was commenced in 1851 at Lake Boga, near the Murray, but has since been removed to the Wimmera, where its philanthropic objects are still prosecuted with a devotion worthy of better results.

The Moravians.

At Lake Boga two whole years elapsed before any natives would come near the mission. Afterwards, indeed, this excessive shyness went off, so that they gradually reciprocated approaches, coming and going more freely, and at last expressing themselves sorry

when the mission broke up. Mr. Spieseké, one of the missionaries, has some favourable impressions as to civilizing his outcast charge, but with a devout qualification that his trust is rather in the influences of Heaven than the dispositions of the natives. The Wimmera district contains about one-third of the whole aboriginal population of the colony.

Proposed mission to Cooper's Creek.

New mission-fields have lately been projected under Moravian direction; one in Gipps Land to the far east of the colony, another to the north-west, far beyond the colonial boundary, namely at Cooper's Creek, a place now familiar to the colonists as a rendezvous in the late exploration of the interior, and invested with sad reminiscences as the scene of the deaths of Burke and Wills. The present mission scheme to Cooper's Creek, indeed, arose out of this latter event, and the kindness shown by the natives to King, the only survivor of Burke's party.

This bold and humane project was discussed on the occasion of the last anniversary meeting of the Moravian mission in Victoria, held on 17th August, 1863. The governor, Sir Henry Barkly, who presided on the occasion, remarked that there prevailed a desire to make to the natives the best return for their commendable conduct. This was not to be by giving them beads and tomahawks, which, in fact, the Government had already done, but by sending them Christian teaching. The Moravians, he said, had expressed themselves willing to undertake the duty if the expenses were paid. Mr. Howitt, who had been sent in search of Burke's party, and had found King with the natives, had given a favourable view of the mission's prospects. He regarded the natives as not being hostilely disposed, although they were such inveterate thieves that the

party must be at least six strong for self-defence. The expense might be estimated at about £600 a year. At one part of the creek, favourable for a site, there was a sheet of water four miles long, and one hundred and fifty yards wide, which was abundantly supplied with fish. The surrounding country was poor, but about this part of it there was grass enough for such live stock as the proposed mission might require. The Cooper's Creek tribe numbered about three hundred, and between the creek and the desert there were about one hundred and twenty more natives, who, although divided into small tribes, all spoke the same language.

Plans for benefit of natives.

The legislative report we have spoken of animadverts upon the neglected condition of the natives generally, and recommends that adequate reserves of land be made for them. These reserves should be selected in spots secluded from the colonists, and especially from their public-houses. There must be a distinct reserve for each separate tribe, and situated within its own range of country, as the tribes are found to be quite indisposed either to quit their own area of ground, or to live amicably with each other.

Probable early extinction.

What is the destiny of this unimprovable savage? The invading colonist will gradually overspread Australia, and we can as little doubt that the aboriginal race will entirely disappear. This twofold process may occupy a much less time than a casual observer would suppose, who remarks the vast areas that are still a blank upon our maps of Australia. But these spaces are at this moment being occupied at a pace that has had little example in colonization. Pastoral occupation is the earliest mode of Australian settlement, and it may be described as colonization at the gallop. The

area of an English county is taken up to-day, and to-morrow there are several more such areas appropriated and occupied on the outskirts of the last. Nor can the savage still find room in the vast country alongside of his civilized brother. He comes in the way only to be but too easily elbowed out of his ancient domain. He dies off before the white man from a combination of causes, not the least effective of which is that his accustomed mode of life is interfered with—a mode he cannot change for any other; so that the motives, objects, and daily stimulus of his very existence are gone.

Disappearance of tribes.

The whole of Australia, with its area of more than two-thirds of that of Europe, possesses but a small population—very considerably, it is supposed, under half a million. Already there has been a heavy decrease. The colonized territories are so many depopulated vacancies, in the aboriginal sense. Within the compass of a wide sweep around Melbourne, and a much wider still around Sydney, the aboriginal tribes are now all but extinct. Nearly twenty years ago, a native of the Port Jackson tribe stated in evidence to a committee of inquiry of the Legislature of New South Wales that himself and three females were the sole survivors of four hundred individuals of whom the tribe consisted but a quarter of a century before. Again, a zealous missionary at Lake Macquarie labours to acquire the aboriginal dialect of the place, that he may translate the Scriptures, and teach the tribe to read; but while engaged in these exemplary toils, the objects for whom he labours are rapidly disappearing, and eventually scarcely any will remain to reap the fruits of his zeal. One of the most recent of these sorrowful intimations is to the effect that the old Brisbane tribe, which once

numbered a thousand, is now so nearly extinct that their language or dialect has disappeared, the survivors now using that of the Wide Bay natives, who have poured into the all but unoccupied territory.*

Tasmania supplies a forewarning to Australia, for there the total extinction of a race is on the eve of accomplishment. The natives of that island originally numbered five thousand, when our countrymen took possession. Three years ago they were reduced to fourteen individuals, and now there are but seven. The Hobart Town Benevolent Society calls the attention of the Tasmanian Government to the neglected condition of the poor survivors, who seemed to be objects of neither interest nor care to any one. Nevertheless, these despised and fleeting remnants are worthy of attention. They are all that now represent one of the human races, distinct alike from the Australian to the north, and the New Zealander to the east; and a few more years must witness their total extinction. Perhaps some are now living who will hear of the last survivor of aboriginal Australia, and of the final extinction of yet another race. Most likely the event will prove a very small matter to our busy modern world, which, in the supremacy of the practical, hardly divines for what useful purpose, or purpose of any kind, the Australian savage diversifies and disturbs the bright scene that he has so long trodden, and why he was ever intruded upon a picture

Tasmanian race all but extinct.

"Where all, save the presence of man, seems divine."

And yet, in his day, the Australian savage was the

* "Queensland Daily Guardian," 8th Sept., 1863.

undisputed head of the vast living world around him. In ceding that position he closes a long-held dominion. If events threaten him still more adversely, and he is soon entirely to disappear, we should hardly be indifferent to the extinction of the widely-spread Australian race, which has inherited from long past time so noble and important a region of the globe.

CHAPTER XII.

COMMERCE AND FINANCE.

Leading commercial position of Victoria—British commerce with Australia and Victoria—Trade of Australasia—Commerce of Victoria; chief articles of import and export—Shipping—Exports per head, and consumption of tea, sugar, and tobacco—Revenue of Victoria and other colonies—Chief source of Victoria revenues—Customs and tariffs, lands' sales, railways, etc.—Comparative taxation, home and colony—Debt of Victoria and the other colonies; New Zealand—Banking; proportion of note issues—The Australian Mint at Sydney, 1855; Causes of its establishment; Melbourne competes for it—South Australian Gold Act—Coin at first not Imperial, and refused by Victoria; Made Imperial by Act, 1863.

Commercial supremacy of Victoria.

JUDGED by the scale of commerce, Victoria rose, through her gold-fields, to be the greatest of colonies. The rise was rapid beyond all precedent. Suddenly the modest settlement, one of the very youngest of the empire's children, became aware that, outside of old England, she was at the head of the empire family. Even India at that time paled before Australia, and Melbourne's commerce ran ahead of that of the city of palaces, Calcutta. But this supreme position has not lasted. India has been at full speed for a dozen years past, the mutiny scarcely disturbing her commerce, and eventually tending greatly to its increase; while Victoria has been standing still, or even varying her lively career by an occasional walk backwards. In

the year 1851, prior to the effects of the gold-mines, the combined amount of the Import and Export commerce of Victoria was about two and a half millions sterling, being a mere fraction of that of Bengal at the same time. But in 1854 that commerce had risen to the amount of twenty-nine millions, and in 1857 it was more than thirty-two millions; while the amount for Bengal in these respective years was but three-fifths of these large sums. But the Indian tortoise, equally sure and far more swift than his brother of the fable, has since been rapidly gaining upon the fitful leaps of the Australian hare, and is at last in the foreground. Both Calcutta and Bombay, as we have already had occasion to mention, have now a larger amount of external commerce than Victoria. But, if Victoria is to retain a position inferior in the empire only to these great and populous principalities, the humiliation seems hardly appreciable.

Commerce.

British exports to Australia.

Australia assumes very slight pretensions upon the great roll of British commerce until the era of the gold-fields, whose effect begins after the year 1851. In that year the British exports to the whole Australasian group were a little under three millions, or but a thirtieth of the total value. Only two years afterwards the amount has reached fourteen and a half millions, which is far beyond the amount pertaining to any other group of our colonies, and is rather more than the amount for all India and the North American colonies put together. But this was only the temporary result of a wild rush of trade into a new market that had come prominently before the world; and which, although famished for a time, was soon over supplied.

Accordingly, in two years more the amount of the export had dropped to less than half; and already, within these two years, India has left Australia in the rear, and subsequently maintains a decided supremacy upon the home tables. In the accounts of the year 1862, India and Australasia (which latter includes Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand) are still the most noticeable in point of amount in the colonial section, the former claiming £14,636,940, and the latter £11,930,062. The total of the British export of that year is valued at above one hundred and twenty-four millions, of which the proportion to all the colonies is one-third, and to Foreign States two-thirds.

British imports from Australia.

In the list of British imports the Southern colonies retain, even until now, a very diminutive aspect; the cause being that their gold does not avail them, as the accounts are made up exclusive of the precious metals. In the tables for 1862 Australasia appropriates but £7,110,703, or about one thirty-second of the British total, and nearly the whole amount represents the fine Australian wools, in whose production all of these colonies actively vie with each other for the supply of a trade already of great extent, and of high importance to the mother country.

British exports to Victoria.

In these remarks on Australian trade, as regarded from the British point of view, we have dealt with the whole Southern group in its collective capacity. The colony of Victoria, since the gold discoveries, has taken the first position amongst her sisters in the colonial commerce under this aspect. Indeed, the amount yearly exported from the United Kingdom to Victoria has usually been rather more than the combined totals for all the sister Southern colonies. But latterly, owing to an increase, more

rapid or more steady upon past attainments, of the commerce of the other colonies, and particularly the sudden leap made since 1861 by New Zealand, in consequence of the Otago and Southland gold-fields, this supremacy of Victoria in wholesale has passed away. She must be content to be the head only in detail; and withal, under the proverbial inconstancy of fortune's favours in affairs of gold-mining, to contemplate the possibility of even a greater down-come from the former status. The value of the exports of British produce to each member of the Australasian group for 1862 appears thus: Victoria, £5,700,043; New South Wales, £3,518,047; South Australia, £895,649; Queensland, £195,086; West Australia, £106,042; Tasmania, £287,229; New Zealand, £1,227,966.

British imports from Victoria.

In the British Import list of 1862, above noticed, Victoria is the largest of the Southern contributors, the amount from that colony having been £2,871,650, or two-fifths of the whole; while New South Wales is the next in order of amount, and represents £2,070,819.

Australian commerce.

We have been regarding the trade of the colony from the home stand-point. Let us now transfer our point of view to colonial ground. Here we deal with still larger amounts than those we have been considering, because our colonies are not now confined in their trade to the parent country, as in old autocratic times of colonial policy. Up to the date of the beginning of gold-mining, the total of the yearly import and export commerce of the entire group amounted together to the value of less than nine millions; but it has now expanded to upwards of six times that amount. The proportion due to Victoria has, during the interval, been considerably more than one half of the whole, until within the last year or

two, when the steady progress of New South Wales, and the rapid advance of auriferous New Zealand, have brought formidable rivals upon the heels of the commercial chief. At present the total import and export commerce of Australasia may be assumed to exceed fifty-eight millions sterling, represented in detail by each separate colony, in round numbers, as follows, according to the official accounts for the year 1862 :— Victoria, twenty-six and a half millions; New South Wales, sixteen and a half millions; South Australia, above four millions; Queensland, two millions; West Australia, a quarter million; Tasmania, two millions; New Zealand, seven millions.

Commerce of Victoria.

Confining ourselves to Victoria, and taking the year 1861, with its complete details, we find the total value of imports to be £13,532,452; and of exports, £13,828,606.* Of the latter amount, the sum due to articles of the produce of the colony was £10,596,368. The considerable remainder of the exports, amounting to £3,232,238, consists of imports that have been re-exported. This last relatively large sum shows the extent to which the colony, or more strictly, Melbourne, its capital, which absorbs more than nine-tenths of the colony's whole commerce, acts as an *entrepôt* for the trade of the other colonies. Sydney is the great rival of Melbourne in this respect, and had long held undis-

* The Victoria official accounts of import and export do not include the overland trade, consisting chiefly in the importation of wool and live stock from New South Wales. The latter colony records this branch of the trade, which for 1862 added £1,234,529 to the value of the sea-board exports; they included 7,506,254 lb. of wool. Nearly all of this New South Wales export formed an unnoticed Victoria import of that year. Assuming one million as her portion, Victoria's total import for 1862 was really £14,532,452, an amount nearer to the usual proportion of import to export figures.

puted reign, owing to its commanding position and its unrivalled harbour. But Melbourne has already remedied the most material of its harbour defects, and is making head upon its northern competitor.

Chiefly with Britain.

The colony's trade, whether in imports or in exports, is still chiefly with the parent country. Of all the goods imported in 1861, something more than one half was of the produce of this country, while nearly a further fourth was the produce of British colonies, leaving not quite a remaining fourth as the produce of foreign states. The trade in the exports is still more exclusively with Britain. Excepting small quantities of wool sent occasionally direct to France or Belgium, and a very small proportion of gold to India or China, the entire yearly export produce of Victoria is methodically consigned to London or Liverpool.*

Principal imports.

The import list of Victoria presents a formidable array. With her hands full of the precious metal, she has been a large and varied buyer in the world's market. She has had good and useful value for her treasures from a crowd of competing sellers, and her society has for years been familiar with the conveniences, the comforts, and even much of the elegances of life. The scale of operations is large—so much so, that some single articles of the imports will each, now-a-days, represent as large a sum as the entire list counted for, not many years ago. With the year 1861 still before us, we find that imported drapery amounted to £1,719,000; boots and shoes to

* Large quantities of Victoria gold were for two or three years at first sent to the adjacent colonies, but merely to be transmitted thence to London. During and after 1857, large quantities were again sent to Sydney for coinage at the Australian mint, but the Imperial sovereigns, whose place the colonial coin took up, were sent home instead.

£617,000; sugar to £785,000; and tea to £593,000. Spirits, whose amount, however, is very greatly reduced since the extravagance and riot of the early gold-digging days, still stand for above £400,000. Jewellery was also heavily indulged in, after its own way, during the same times, but the colony is now more economical in that particular. The luxury of ice still arrives, along with a crowd of miscellaneous notions from America, war permitting. The extension of colonial agriculture has of late rendered unnecessary a large proportion of the earlier importations of bread stuffs. In the year 1855 flour and wheat were imported to the value of £1,550,000, and oats to that of £592,000; whereas in 1861 the former amounted to only £616,000, and the latter to £153,000, for nearly double the population. Tobacco and cigars are largely used, and their import value for 1861 stands at £239,000. But they are now being respectively grown and manufactured in the colony.

Principal exports.

The exports of Victoria, a substantial list, are also a very short one, when we restrict our view to the produce of the colony, and exclude for the time from our category the long and miscellaneous array of the imports re-exported. They consist to the extent of nineteen-twentieths of only two articles, wool and gold. For the year 1861 the wool represents £2,089,000; and the gold £7,874,000, in a total of exports of the colony's produce of £10,596,000. Amongst the minor articles hides enjoy a comparative consideration, and for the same year the value of their export amounts to £78,000. Tallow was already an export article of large amount at the time of the gold discoveries, because the increase of the flocks and herds up to that date had so far outstripped the increase of the popu-

Wool.

Gold.

Hides.

Tallow.

lation, as to occasion large and regular consignments of the live stock to the melting vat. But as the great accessions of population since that event, have altered this condition of affairs, the tallow trade of the colony has been restricted within narrow dimensions.

Tin. There are small shipments of tin ore—the black sand found some years ago in the River Ovens district. From the earlier reports regarding this commodity there seemed a well-founded expectation of a large trade, but it has never assumed dimensions of any importance. Between the years 1853 and 1860, the yearly production has varied between sixty and seven hundred tons of the natural ore, together with from half a ton to about ten tons of the smelted metal.

Silver. Silver mines of some promise were discovered in 1863; and the St. Arnaud Silver Mines Association that was formed on the occasion, exhibited the first of the produce at Melbourne in October of that year. This was a cake of silver of between 300 and 400 ounces in weight.

Shipping. The shipping interest now connected with all these colonies is already of a vast extent. Those southern seas where at the beginning of the century scarcely a sail ever presented itself, and where such few as might have been detected, carried little else than cargoes of crime away to regions purposely selected as being then the furthest off from the world's civilization—those seas, so long resounding only to their own echoes, are now everywhere alive with commerce and social intercourse. The amount of tonnage arriving and departing in ceaseless activity at fifty different colonial seaports may now collectively be summed up by millions. Any colonist of Victoria who, not thirty years since, arrived amongst the earlier settlers, might survey with

enthusiasm the lively picture presented to-day from the headlands at the entrance of Port Phillip. As he looks across the narrow strait with its ever restless tidal stream, the placid waters within, and the vast ocean stretching outside, he may compare the daily and hourly spectacle of the passing fleets of commerce with a time still fresh in his recollection when a scene so substantial and pleasing had as yet no existence.

Chiefly British.

Of the shipping frequenting the ports of Victoria more than four-fifths are British, and less than one-fifth foreign. The total of shipping inwards for 1861, numbered 1778 vessels, of a tonnage of 549,195; and the shipping outwards, 1820 vessels, of 540,807 tons. Of the combined amount of 1,090,002 tons of shipping, the British portion consisted of 885,772, and the foreign of 204,230 tons. The colony has done but little in shipbuilding of its own, having left that vocation as yet almost entirely to older countries. During the year 1861, only five small vessels were constructed, namely, a steamer of thirty tons, two schooners, and two cutters; the total being together but of one hundred and fifty-eight tons.

Exports per head.

The proportion of exports, per head, and the consumption of imports, per head, of a country's population, are some kind of measure of that country's spare means with which its people annually pick and choose from the dainties of the outside world. The yearly exports being the power that maintains this pleasant occupation, there is always some interest in comparing such powers in different countries. This view however, is less applicable to young colonies than to old settled countries, whose home industries tolerably supply home wants, leaving the exports in some degree as a surplus of means. Thus, the value of the exports

Compared with home.

of the produce of the United Kingdom amounts to rather more than £4 per head, and that of France to about £2 10*s.* per head of the respective populations. But what are any such ratios to what is exhibited by Victoria, which in the early years of gold-mining life showed a proportion of exports amounting to £60 and upwards per head. In those days, however, the colony's soil was scarcely anywhere cultivated, and these relatively great exports were far less a surplus than the means of procuring a subsistence—the earliest and readiest at the time—for two-thirds of the people. The colony is now settling down more each year to a home industry of its own, and to the profitable cultivation of its own resources; as may be seen, for example, by the returns of the area of land under crop, which from being about 180,000 acres in the year 1857, had increased to half a million acres six years afterwards. The colony, therefore, is probably now in a condition of really increased prosperity as well as social comfort, although the proportion of the exports per head of the population has come down from £60 to £20.

Tea and sugar consumption.

To what extent the imports of a country are actually enjoyed will be still better appreciated by ascertaining the average consumption per head of some of the chief articles. Tea and sugar have a standard interest in this inquiry. The consumption of these articles in Victoria, although still large, is relatively to population a good deal less than it was several years ago. It is still considerably higher, as indeed might be expected, than it is found to be in this country or in the old societies of other countries of Europe. There has been, however, of late years, in the mother country, a most remarkable increase in the consumption of these two great necessaries of life, as they may now be called;

and as this has been going on concurrently with a diminution in Victoria, where the economy of harder times has succeeded previous extravagance, the two cases are being brought to a much closer relative approximation than seemed at all likely but a short time since. The consumption in the United Kingdom of sugar and molasses which in the year 1841 was only about 18⅔ lb. per head, rose by remarkably steady additions to be as much as 39⅓ lb. per head twenty years afterwards; while the consumption of tea, which at the earlier date was but a fraction over 1⅓ lb. per head, rose at the later year to be 2¾ lb. In Victoria the sugar consumption is now about 60 lb. per head, and that of tea about 7 lb. per head. A few years ago the former was consumed in double this proportion, and tea in about one-third more. In New South Wales the present consumption is rather less than in Victoria, being about 52 lb. of sugar and 4 lb. of tea respectively per head of the population. Sugar being used in both colonies for brewing and distilling purposes, the value of these estimates is somewhat impaired as regards their application to the more ordinary or domestic consumption of that article.

Tobacco consumption.

From the useful of tea and sugar we may pass to the useless, or worse, of tobacco. Our data are for Australia generally, and she stands well up in the ranks of the devotees to the not innocuous weed. Assuming the use to be restricted to the male population of over eighteen years, each person over that age in Australia, according to a late calculation, consumes yearly on an average 6¼ lb. of tobacco. England attains in the comparison only to a fraction over 4 lb. The United States ascend to rather more than 7½ lb., and the Zollverein States crown the cause by a consumption of no less than 9¾ lb.

Public Revenue.

Revenue of Victoria.

The growth of the colony's public revenue was quite as remarkable as that of its commerce. Antecedently to the effects of the gold, the colony's modest yearly budget had attained to about £380,000; and at this stage, and upon the merit of these figures, the thriving young settlement was wont to be quoted as amongst the foremost instances of the success of British colonies. This was in the year 1851. The following year's revenue exceeded a million and a half, and the year after that it rose to more than three millions. The yearly amount has averaged about three millions during the ten succeeding years until now, oscillating occasionally from a quarter million below to the same amount above that very substantial average. For the last year of our data, 1862, the amount was £3,131,420; for the year before it was 2,886,091. The combined revenues of the Southern group have now reached an amount of no mean dimensions. New South Wales has more than half the revenue of Victoria; South Australia, £600,000; Queensland, three-fifths of that of South Australia; West Australia, £70,000; Tasmania, above a quarter of a million; New Zealand, half a million; including the proportion of the Customs' revenues ceded to each province, but independently of considerable land revenues left to the provinces. We have thus a total of between six and seven millions sterling.

Of other colonies.

Chief sources of Victorian revenue.

The chief sources of the revenue of Victoria have usually heretofore been the Customs' duties and the Land sales, which, with some fluctuations in amount, comprise respectively about one-third of the whole. Latterly, however, a third source of revenue has

afforded great results, and promises to rival either of the others, if the system to which it chiefly owes its existence be continued. This source is the public works, including a great railway system, whose construction the Colonial Government is just completing, and whose management is still in Government hands. The income from public works, including railways and telegraphs, is already nearly half a million yearly.

Customs revenue.

The Customs revenue for the year ended 30th June last (1863), amounted to £1,065,015. This sum is derived chiefly from considerable duties imposed on tobacco in its various forms, on opium, and on alcoholic drinks, especially all kinds of spirits. The revenue is supplemented by lighter rates upon a few other articles, malt and hops, tea, sugar, coffee, and dried fruits. All other articles of importation are free. But there is the rather exceptionary case of an export duty, which had been placed upon gold some years since as a substitute for a preceding personal licence fee. This export duty, at first at the rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* per ounce of gold, was reduced, on 1st January, 1863, to 1*s.* 6*d.* per ounce.

The Customs revenue reached some years ago an amount about one half more than it does at present. It has been annually falling off within this interval, and that, too, notwithstanding several additions that have been made to the tariff list. The diminution has been due chiefly to the lessening proceeds of the gold duty, owing to the yearly falling off in the gold produce since 1856, and to the steady reduction in the consumption of intoxicating drinks, the actual quantity consumed being gradually less even in the face of increasing population. Having imported spirits in the year 1853 to the value of a million and a half, and in 1854 to that

of nearly a million, when the colony descends in its requirements of this great mainstay of revenue to no less than one-third or one-half of these former proportions, even although the population has meanwhile more than doubled, it cannot escape a severe reduction in its income, and it must be content with only an elevation in its character.

Tariff principles.

On the subject of Australian Customs duties, there has been, in some sense, a war of tariffs in all these colonies, since the Imperial Act of 1850 entrusted to each colony for itself the care of this important question. Many fancies have been indulged in on so fertile a subject, and many marring compromises have had to be submitted to, in order that action of some kind might be taken. The *ad valorem* principle and the fixed duty principle have fought more than one battle, the result being, on the whole, decidedly in favour of the latter. Another lively contest has been upon the policy of differential duties upon different kinds or qualities of the same general description of article, such as spirits, sugars, and tobacco. This discussion has ended, for the most part, in the imposing of one uniform duty on all kinds of spirits, according to their spirit strength, on the principle of taxing only the contained alcohol; while with sugar and tobacco there has been a distinctive taxing of the several varieties we are familiar with belonging to both, in some relationship to their usual cost value. The Imperial Act forbids any discrimination of duties upon the very same article wherever produced. Thus all rum, from whatever place or wherever produced, must come in at the same duty, and so with brandy, etc.; but rum and brandy may bear duties differing from one another.

Emerging from the dust of all this controversy,

Victoria appeared with the concisest and simplest tariff —a position, however, that she has been of late gradually forfeiting. The tariff consists solely of fixed rates of duty, these being levied upon a few articles of large consumption. Latterly there has been a disposition on the part of these colonies to assimilate their tariffs, and in so doing the tariff of Victoria has been to some extent the example. Thus all have adopted the same, or nearly the same, rate of duty on spirits as that of Victoria, which is ten shillings per gallon on all imported kinds alike, whether good or bad, British or Foreign. New South Wales, however, still favours British and colonial spirits, and Victoria has recently favoured the latter; South Australia and West Australia still cling to *ad valorem* lists; and the palm of the most complicated tariffs, at once the solace, revenge, and triumph of small states, is reserved for the last-named colony and Tasmania.* Tariff of Victoria.

Reverting to the Victoria revenue for the year ended 30th of June, 1863, the Land Sales proceeds amounted to the large sum of £1,163,135, and for the twelve months preceding, the amount was short of this sum by only £75,000. These are somewhat larger sums than the revenue has derived from this source since the busy land speculating years of 1853 and 1854, and they are chiefly the result of the new land law introduced into the colony early in 1862, by which increased facilities in both the selection and payment of land were given to the public. Lands' revenue.

The Public Works of the colony form now a most comprehensive and diversified department of the Government, including the great works of the Melbourne Water Supply, which have cost altogether Public Works' and Railways' Revenue.

* See Appendix B for comparative Tariffs, and further remarks.

nearly one million sterling; and the railway and telegraph system, which have cost between eight and nine millions more. The income from Public Works for the year as above had increased to £445,584, from that of the year before, which was £269,521. The traffic on the railways largely increases, as the system approaches completion, connecting Melbourne and Port Phillip with the River Murray, a result that it is expected will be accomplished during the year 1864. The electric telegraph is already very generally diffused, connecting with the capital the chief towns and gold-fields, while the adjacent colonies, South Australia on the one hand, and New South Wales and Queensland on the other, are also in telegraphic communication. Tasmania, on the other hand, like America, is connected by a submarine cable, which after a few edifying and inspiring sentences has been immutably dumb for the last four years.

Comparative taxation.

In comparing the relative taxation of the colony and the parent state, as indicated by the proportions of the respective revenues to population, it would appear that while the United Kingdom contributed not quite £2 10*s.* per head, Victoria yielded nearly £6 per head. The inference is thence naturally drawn that the colony being highly prosperous as compared with home, even this apparently heavy taxation is comparatively unfelt. But the two cases are not at all parallel. The home revenue consists in the proportions of about two-thirds of the indirect taxation of Customs' and Excise dues, and the remainder of direct taxation. There is nothing in the home accounts to represent the land sales and public works revenues of the colony; such revenues not being, in fact, questions of taxation at all, any more than would be private land purchasing, or railway travelling expenses in this country. Deduct-

ing, therefore, these anomalous revenue adjuncts from the colony's budget, the total is reduced by just one half; and thus the rate of taxation of Victoria is reduced to rather less at present than £3 per head, an amount which is but little above the home rate. As this home average is spread over a large mass of poor and destitute who are almost non-contributors, and who have no proportionate representation in a colony, taxation is actually highest in Britain, and Victoria may be regarded as being, comparatively with the parent state, a very lightly taxed country.

On the other hand, as colonial revenues are raised with comparative facility, they are likely to be spent with all the less effort at economy. Here, however, again the colonial varies from the home case in a large yearly draft on the public income on behalf of the inexhaustible necessities of public works, and for the large aids to charitable institutions, municipalities, and road-making. On the whole, however, colonists may take a lesson from home revenue economy; for the whole expenses of the British Government, exclusive of the cost of revenue collections, and of the debt and the army and navy—expenses that happily as yet fall lightly on most colonies—are hardly as much as ten millions a year.

Public Debt.

Victorian stocks.

A public debt seems now-a-days the necessary counterpart to a public revenue. Victoria might say, as many have said, or at least have acted, before her time, Who can keep out of debt under the pressure of a heavy income? What state can resist borrowing with the ready facilities of the London Stock Exchange? There all the rank and file of the indebted, the great

and the small, are poised respectively at their due elevation upon a most sensitive self-adjusting scale. Victoria is there, of course, with the multitude; and not in small proportions. Victoria six per cents. stand well—almost at the very highest in colonial stocks. But why not at the very summit? Victoria's means, it is well known, are most ample, and the population is predominantly British in national feeling and loyalty. The fact is, Victoria is a bold borrower, and she is withal just a little too democratic for the nerves of home capitalists.

Debt of Victoria.

The debt of Victoria is now about nine millions, of which probably not more than one million is held in the colony, the rest being held in this country. This considerable debt is almost all composed of the great railway loan authorized in 1858, and amounting to eight millions sterling. Seven millions of this sum, which had been made payable in London, have already been realized in that market; the remaining million, which has been made payable in Melbourne, has not yet been entirely issued. Even the total of eight millions, it now appears, will be exceeded by some hundreds of thousands in the construction of the railways, in consequence of unanticipated liabilities involved in the purchase of the Geelong and Melbourne line from a private company, with the object of completing the railway system in the hands of the Government. The remainder of the colony's debt consists of several other sums, that amounted originally to above a million and a half sterling. One of these amounts was £500,000, and another £200,000, contracted in the year 1854, on behalf respectively of the municipalities of Melbourne and Geelong, and repayable by the Government; another was for £820,000, in connection

with the cost of water supply to Melbourne. The railway loan is not repayable until the years 1883—1885: the other amounts were made due chiefly at intervals between 1855 and 1875, and have been already to some extent discharged.

Debt of other colonies.

While we recount the growth and greatness of colonial revenues, the colonies may wish not to be ignored among the mighty in the importance of their public debts. Victoria again stands first in this negative relationship, in like manner as we have so repeatedly seen her stand among the positions of financial greatness. New South Wales follows, with about three-fifths of the debt of Victoria, but in the position of increasing that debt somewhat rapidly with her railway necessities; while her sister has—to use a phrase of well-known and satisfactory import among railway proprietors—"closed the capital account" in this respect, and is in the act of diminution. South Australia enjoys the healthy position of a debt of £800,000, with a disposition rather to reduce than to augment. Queensland has but just entered the market with the first handful of bonds, but she already shows in her railway and telegraph plans and estimates that she is not to be so singular as to remain long at the threshold. Tasmania has £450,000.

New Zealand Debt.

New Zealand is the most portentous member in regard to debt, for the Imperial Government is at length putting in practice upon her the oft-debated policy of requiring colonies to contribute a substantial part at least, if not the whole, of their military expenses. Nor have her people shrunk from their reasonable share in this duty, as regarded either their blood or their money. The costs of the war, therefore, as well as the public wants, in other ways, have brought New Zealand

once and again into the money market. The colony has been borrowing for general purposes, and each province for its own special uses, while the collective provinces of the Northern island, to which the native troubles are restricted, have loans to meet the exigencies of war. The general New Zealand total does not as yet much exceed a million, but there are formidable symptoms of increase. Thus we have a total of about sixteen millions.

Total debts.

Banking.

Scale of banking.

The extent and importance of banking at the Antipodes may be inferred from the fact that the stock of coin held by the different banks of the Southern group amounts to four millions sterling; that the note circulation is above three millions; that the deposits are seventeen millions; and the loans and discounts to customers are about twenty millions.

Scale in Victoria.

Victoria claims about one half of the amounts of each of these various departments of banking business. In the year 1863 the colony's note issues were £1,432,808, the deposits £7,903,152, the coin on hand £1,772,833, and the loans and discounts £9,743,056.

Note issues.

The note issues are for amounts of one pound and upwards, as in Scotland and Ireland, and payable as usual in coin on demand. As a feature of the early gold-mining days, it may be mentioned that the amount of these note issues, in the year 1854, when the colony possessed less than one half of its present population, exceeded the present amount by nearly a million sterling. This relatively large sum would give to the colony, in that busy year, the almost incredible proportion of ten pounds of bank note circulation per head of the whole population, besides that of the metallic cur-

rency which was in use to as large an extent probably as the notes. One cause that contributed to this large currency requirement of the time was the necessity, amongst the motley and stranger population upon the gold-fields, in buying the gold, and indeed in transacting any other business, to make the payments in either bank notes or coin. The miners continued long indisposed to part with their substantial gold for cheques on banks, or orders on the town merchants and agents. The present circulation has greatly shrunk in its dimensions as compared with those of nine years ago. It is equal to about £2 13*s.* 4*d.* per head of the present population; and the circulation of New South Wales is about the same; while that of Scotland, where, as is well known, bank notes have almost superseded the use of gold coin, the ratio per head of population is yet only one half of that of these colonies.

The Australian Mint.

Mint at Sydney, 1855.

An Australian Mint has now been in operation at Sydney for upwards of eight years. The want of such an institution was remarkably exemplified for a time at first after the gold discovery. The sudden and immense increase of wealth, commerce, and population, caused especially by the Victoria gold-fields, left the colony for a considerable period unsupplied with banking accommodation and currency at all adequate to the new conditions. The effect was promptly visible in the stress of demand upon the existing banks for advances upon the colony's largely-increased produce, and in the consequent state of the exchange upon London. The colony's money rose to a value of ten or twelve per cent. premium upon that of home; that is to say, £90 in Melbourne was sufficient to purchase £100 due in

Cause for it.

London. Such was the rate of the exchange as charged by the banks to their customers in making advances on the gold when consigned for sale to London; and withal they would not, or rather could not, advance more than two-thirds of the market price of the gold at the time in the colony, low as that price was; nor were they able even with these restrictions to meet all demands. The actual pressure was therefore really greater than even this rate of the exchange indicated. The true test was the current price of the gold, whose value was by this time well ascertained. Nevertheless, an ounce of Ballarat gold, intrinsically worth above four pounds, was for some time regularly sold in Melbourne for three pounds. In other words, a piece of gold of the weight of about four sovereigns, and purer in quality than the coin, would fetch only three sovereigns. Indeed, had not the neighbouring colonies relieved the plethoric Victorian market by buying up as much of the gold as they could, the price must have gone still lower.

Melbourne competes for Mint.

A local mint would have remedied at once this curious state of things, and therefore there was a loud cry from the crowded diggings for such an institution, many taking up the idea that otherwise this great disarrangement of the exchanges, or the liability of a recurrence to it, might be lasting. There were two claimants for the honour and distinction of the Australian Mint, namely, New South Wales, the senior colony, and still at this time by far the most considerable in commerce, wealth, and population; and Victoria, the young offshoot of but the previous year, who already, however, in 1852, was giving strong promise of her subsequent primary position, and of the fact that the great bulk of the gold was to come from

her soil. Both colonies hastened off their petitions on the subject to the Home Government, which, after due deliberation, at length awarded the palm to the senior, whose cause was possibly aided by a judicious appropriation of £10,000 to accompany the petition by way of earnest towards the expenses of the requisite materials. A "Deputy Master of the Mint," of Imperial appointment, was sent out to New South Wales in 1854, and the new mint came into operation in the month of May, 1855. Long ere this, however, all the pressure and exchange disturbance of 1852 had disappeared. New banks and adequate supplies, both of coin and notes, had long since placed the colony's currency on a par with the extent of its trading. In fact, with an overstock of imports in the colony, instead of a plethora of exports, the exchange on London had already gone to as much as five per cent. beyond par in the opposite direction.

Gold Act of South Australia.

South Australia took a novel and rather bold step to avoid the pinch of this emergency. The Government, under authority of an Act of the Legislature, coined the Victorian gold, which overflowed into that colony as well as the others, into pieces having the precise weight and purity of sovereigns, and made these pieces legal tender within the colony. There was a further liberty assumed in fixing their value at the rate of £3 11*s.* per ounce of standard quality, or about 11*s.* an ounce higher than the current price of the time.

Its effects.

This was a measure of great and immediate relief to mercantile and banking operations, and at the end of a year, the time to which the measure was restricted, as the pressure was already over in the adjacent colonies, and the price of gold had risen up to or beyond

the 71*s.* per ounce fixed in South Australia, the novel experiment ended without difficulty. The chief objection to it was on the ground of its illegality. The British sovereign forthwith retired before a depreciated currency, and was obtainable only at a premium. For a time too, until prices in South Australia advanced in proportion to this depreciation, the colony sustained considerable loss on the sales of its produce and other property to outside neighbours; for it had enacted against itself that sixty shillings' worth of Melbourne gold should be accepted as a payment of seventy-one shillings in Adelaide.

Expenses of Mint.

Victoria was disappointed of the much-desired mint, and all the more disappointed, because, by the time the Sydney institution had come into operation, Victoria had become the greater colony both in population and commerce, and produced more than nine-tenths of all the Australian gold. No help for it now, however. More than one mint for Australia seemed an absurd idea. Indeed the first trial at Sydney appeared to indicate that even one such institution was too much, as New South Wales, already half repenting of her honours, had ascertained, after an experience of between one and two years, that the new establishment did not even meet its current expenses, although £50,000 expended in buildings and plant were taken out of the question. The Imperial Government had prohibited the mint from being made a source of profit. The mintage rate, however, was at first fixed at so high a charge as from 1½ to 2 per cent., according to the larger or smaller quantity of gold sent in for coinage; but this rate having been found too high, it was reduced by one half, chiefly on the representation of the banks, which institutions, it was probable, would be almost the only customers.

The mint, however, continued to be worked at a loss alike under the lower as under the higher charge. The yearly expenses were estimated at £15,000, while the income had not reached £12,000.

Victoria had not as yet sanctioned the admission of the "Sydney sovereign," and the absence of her custom was both a serious blank, and an upset to all the calculations of the Mint Master. Victoria could assume this independent position, because she was now a self-governed colony, and because the said sovereign was not legal tender of the empire. Coin not Imperial

This last position of the case had not been anticipated when the concession of a mint was asked for. At the first the Imperial Government refused to invest the proposed Australian coinage with an Imperial character and privilege; and this position has only just been granted it in the year 1863, after eight years of protest from Australia. The case was somewhat embarrassing to the other colonies, even more than to New South Wales, as they weighed the benefits of an adjacent mint with the disadvantages of its non-imperial coinage. Although the privilege to coin money of the empire had not been conceded to the Australian Mint, the institution was nevertheless styled a branch of the Royal Mint, and was administered by officers appointed by the Home Government, while the usual and ample precautions as to testing were adopted, so as to secure for Australia a sovereign of precisely the same weight and quality as that issued by the Home Mint. This confusing and apparently needless restriction of privilege to the Australian money has been at length happily removed, mainly by the exertions of Mr. Alderman Salomons, the report of whose Parliamentary Committee of the session of 1862 against the restriction- Until 1863.

has had the effect of inducing the Government to remove it.

Victoria at first excludes Sydney coin.

Victoria, excusably enough, objected to this sort of provincial money; and there were besides certain difficulties that it was apprehended would follow the introduction of the Australian coinage, in consequence of the colony having, recently before, imposed an export duty on gold, which did not exist in New South Wales. Eventually a compromise was agreed to, by which, while the one colony undertook to impose the said export duty, the other agreed to admit her sister's new coinage. These results were accomplished in the year 1857, after which time the mint revenue was increased by about one half, and fully covered all costs. The amount of the coinage has been considerable, namely, between one and two millions sterling annually, although with remarkable fluctuations, and a great falling off in particular during the last year, 1863, which appears connected with a simultaneous falling off in the New South Wales gold production.* The mint is restricted to gold coinage, namely, sovereigns and half sovereigns only.

Second effort for a Mint.

These prosperous results, however, seemed to revivify the still slumbering desire of the Victoria colonists for a mint of their own. At all events an agitation on the subject was resumed about this time, which resulted in the appointment, in December, 1859, of a Parliamentary Select Committee of Inquiry. The Committee's report proving favourable to the object, a petition of the Legislature was transmitted the following year to the Queen, praying for the concession of a branch of the Royal Mint to be established at Melbourne, and also for the privilege of coining Imperial

* Amount of coinage of the Sydney Mint for first three-quarters of the following years:—1863, £1,250,250; 1862, £2,339,500.

money. Mindful of a successful precedent a few years before, a remittance of £15,000 towards the cost of the mint accompanied the petition. Her Majesty, however, was advised to decline compliance with the request.

Legal tender range of Sydney coin.

Meanwhile all the Southern colonies had already adopted the Australian coinage by acts of their respective Legislatures; and the Imperial Government had further proclaimed the coinage as being legal tender in certain Crown colonies with which Australia held important commercial relations, such as Mauritius, Ceylon, and Hong Kong. All such special legislation has now, of course, become unnecessary by the identification of the Australian coinage with that of the realm.

Act to make it Imperial.

The Act for that purpose had passed both Houses of Parliament in July, 1863. The Act appears to have been requisite to authorize, not merely the legal tender of the produce of the Australian Mint, but also the levying of a mintage rate on what was now to be Imperial coin, a procedure which had not been previously allowable. The home monetary interests seem to have been haunted with the fear of some confusion from an imagined deluge of Australian sovereigns into England after the Imperial privilege had been conceded, and they therefore advised the permanent protection, as it were, of the Home Mint, by the imposition of a seignorage upon the produce of its Australian rival. The seignorage adopted has been at the rate of three pence per ounce standard, that being supposed necessary to repay the cost of coinage. The other arrangements are to the effect that the Australian coinage is to be an exact reproduction of that of London, with the exception of some slight but recognizable

mint mark. The existing coinage, therefore, which is from quite a distinct die, is to be recalled. The Imperial Government, in making this concession, take still further guarantees from the colony for a more complete control of the Mint establishment, by requiring the annual expenses, to an amount not exceeding £15,000, to be made a permanent charge upon the revenue, and not to be dependent as formerly upon an annual vote of the Legislature.*

* For some further remarks on Revenue and Tariffs, see Appendix C.

CHAPTER XIII.

SQUATTING, AND THE WOOL BUSINESS.

Colony's progress restricts squatting—Present state and prospects —Gold-mining disturbance—Advantages to squatting from Colony's progress—Home market for wool—Colony's grass improved, and soil cleared by squatting—Great squatting district of the Riverine—A squatting station—Queensland squatting compared with Victoria—Number of sheep and quantity of wool in these colonies—The home wool trade—Rise and importance of the public wool sales—The wool trade and its supplies —Estimated clip and number of sheep of the United Kingdom —Comparison with Australia.

Squatting now restricted.

PASTORAL pursuits in Victoria are now in a process of considerable alteration. This was inevitable with the changes brought upon the colony by time and progress, and more especially by the incidents and effects of gold-mining. The squatting solitudes of but a dozen years ago have been pervaded by large masses of population, traversed by well-made roads, and diversified by large towns; while the wants of all these people have in every direction set the plough in motion, to invade the old domains of pasture. As the colonial territory became more valuable, the squatter was gradually pressed into a smaller space, either by the increase of his rental and taxation, or by the sale of part of the land on which he depastured. In the earlier period he had in his occupation all but the entire colony, with the good, bad,

and indifferent of its soil, and all at the most nominal of rentals. By degrees he is encroached upon for portions of the better soils of his princely holding, in order to meet the wants of land-buying and agriculture in the expanding colony. We have already seen that the squatter could show fight under these successive encroachments. He has thus delayed the process, but perhaps also accelerated or intensified the fell swoop that was at last inevitable. Victoria is not a large territory, speaking from the colonial and Australian point of view, and already its Government intimates to the squatter that all the better soils, the agricultural lands of the colony, are "wanted."

Entire area and holding of Victoria.

The Lands' Act of 1862 is the climax of this long contest between the squatter and the rest of the colony. The Act summarily concludes all ground of contest by taking out of the squatting category all the land of the colony suitable for agriculture. During the year 1861, while this subject was being discussed, the Minister of Lands and Works drew up a statement of the various qualities of the colonial territory. The total area of Victoria is 86,831 square miles, or a little more than fifty-five and a half millions of acres. Of this total area, four and three quarter millions of acres had been already sold, and one million six hundred thousand acres appropriated for commonage. There were still ten and a half millions of acres suitable for agriculture, and of the remaining thirty-eight and a half millions of acres, about twenty-five millions were suitable for pasturage.

Land Act of 1862.

The squatter is now in the act of adjusting himself to the conditions of the new law. That the change impending over him is very considerable may be inferred from the fact that, in the year 1861, when he was still in undisturbed occupation of these ten millions of acres,

they contained more than three-fifths of all his live stock, leaving but two-fifths as the quantity maintained by all the remainder of the Crown territory. The Government indicate also that the changes contemplated by the Act are to be carried out by no sluggish hand, as four millions of acres were to have been surveyed and thrown open to the selection of purchasers within the first year of the Act's operation;* and all the remainder at short subsequent intervals. The squatter, meanwhile, occupies these better soils on mere sufferance. He must eventually, and within a few more years, retreat within the poorer areas that are suitable only for pasture, excepting only so much of the others as he has been able to purchase for himself.

State and prospects of squatting.

Of these pastoral lands, however, he seems in his prospective tenure tolerably secure. The Act gives him nine years' lease, as from the 1st of January, 1862. Mindful, however, of the old strife over the Orders in Council of fourteen years previous, the Colonial Government was careful not to exclude in any way its own intervention even as to these lands, for purposes of sale or for any other object, the leases notwithstanding. The power of such encroachment, however, is confined to the Government, the public having no rights of selection, excepting to the agricultural lands, nor any power to intrude even upon these lands, until they have been duly surveyed and officially made known as being thus at disposal. In this respect the Victoria Act of last year differs from that of New South Wales of the present year, which lays open to intending resident

* This has not, however, been quite accomplished. Indeed, ere a year's trial, sales have been stopped until the Act can be amended, so as better to restrain purchases to an extent evasive of the intention of the Land Laws.

purchasers the whole Crown territory, whether surveyed or not. On the other hand, the latter colony is the more lenient of the two in regard to squatting taxation, which is at the rate of twopence yearly upon each sheep, while the rate imposed in Victoria in 1859 is as high as eightpence per sheep—a very formidable advance upon the original assessment of one penny.

The gold "prospector."

But in saying that only the Government can henceforth disturb the squatter within those purely squatting areas to which he must presently restrict his vocation, there is one exception—the "prospector." The squatter is still exposed to "prospecting." The colony's destiny is now regarded as so intimately linked with gold-mining, that the prospector is a sort of privileged being, for whose wanderings and upturning experiments the public lands have been everywhere open, and who is or ought to be everywhere welcome. As to the pastoral land, says the commissioner, alluding to the restricted area under the new Act, "prospecting on it for mining purposes is more effectually secured by law than ever it was before."

The squatters and the gold-fields.

The squatter has good reason to dread the inroads of the prospector, for he precedes an unceremonious crowd of the roughest of humanity. The squatter's case, however, is not without some admixture of benefits. The pick and the shovel, with all the mining adjuncts, make, indeed, a sad mess in the pastoral picture; but while these are in the grasp of one hand, a golden ointment is presented by the other. If a diggings makes an uncomfortable uproar in the midst of a squatting district, yet it brings to the squatter's door what his success greatly depends on, a ready market for his surplus live stock. Doubtless he will deny the full value of the equivalent, because from far and near

the flocks and herds may, in free opposition, be driven to the same market. And as to the gold-fields, too, they seem to have a special affection for those lighter and poorer soils to which the squatter is now being confined, and where alone he could rest any solid hopes for safety from the ousting progress of the agriculturist and land-buyer. These gold-fields, also, one would think, favour especially the remoter localities. At all events, the miner's faith rises with every additional league of his progress into the waste and beyond roads and settlements. We may truly say in this case, "'Tis distance lends enchantment." So the squatter is doubly exposed to trouble, and from causes that he was wont to regard as his sure immunity, namely, the poverty of the soil and the remoteness of the situation.

Squattage boundaries.

The squatting areas have hitherto been, with few exceptions, perfectly open as regards dividing fences one from another. A pathway or a plough line, a river or a mountain range, was wont to be sufficient as the basis for a squattage boundary. The traveller quitting roads and the denser settlements might even yet traverse Victoria over its natural grass and through its open forest, without being intercepted by an artificial barrier. To have thought of surrounding the vast areas of the different squattages by substantial enclosures, in face of the uncertain tenure of the occupant, seemed entirely out of the question. The colony, however, is now advancing beyond the old and open condition; and the late Land Act, contemplating the advantage of enclosing the pastoral areas even by substantial fences, holds out a certain inducement to that end, both by the leases alluded to, and by a system of compensation for these fences in the possible event of any part of the fenced area being taken by the Government.

Accordingly, the operation of fencing is now being proceeded with by many squatters. The result will, probably, much modify the old squatting system, as well as increase the grass-producing powers of the soil. With a less cost of labour in the enclosed areas the sheep will be more methodically managed, and they will be less exposed to the infection of disease.

Squatting and farming.

A much more important change is in progress, which must receive a great acceleration from the present extensive purchasing of the agricultural lands under the encouragements of the new Act. This change is towards the home system of combining sheep and cattle farming with agriculture, to the great profit of both, and the advantage of the country at large in the vast increase of its production and resources.

Benefit of colony's progress to squatting.

While the progress of the colony has tended to deal blow after blow towards sapping the integrity of the old squatting system, the squatter has not been without some countervailing advantages. Gold-fields and large interior towns have, as we have just remarked, brought markets almost to his door. If his live stock have not eventually benefited much in price (for the high rates current for a time after the gold discovery have since been reduced); at any rate, he possesses greatly-increased facilities for realizing the rate of the day, whatever that may be, and for conducting his business generally. There are made roads in every direction, and even railways, already in operation, give appreciable aid to one half of the squatting stations. The post-office penetrates almost within hail of every pastoral homestead. The throng of general business in the interior country has developed a system of public carriers, with whom the squatter can now bargain for the delivery of his wool at the shipping port, and the

return of his supplies with far more satisfaction and economy than when under the old system, with his own carriage staff, including his vagarious bullock-driver.

Again, he has the advantage of the competition of the finest and fastest of shipping for the transport of his wool at the most nominal of freights for the longest of voyages. One would think, from this competition amongst shipping agents to reduce the freight charge between Australia and Europe, that the honour of conveying "the golden fleece," and not the advantage of the ship, was the real object in view. But the real explanation is that the annual produce of Victoria's gold, which can purchase a thousand cargoes of imports, is itself of such inconsiderable bulk as to make absolutely no account whatever in filling up the return ships. The total is not one hundred tons by weight. A thousand empty holds, therefore, yawn for the inadequate quantity of the more bulky exports, consisting almost solely of wool.

Small freight-charge for wool.

In pre-gold days, when this relationship of bulk—the exports to the imports—was more equally adjusted, the wool was wont to be the subject of very unceremonious handling. It is at once a very expansive and a very compressible material. It received its first squeeze at the wool station, and as this was at the hands of the owner, the screw was turned by a considerate hand. A further and somewhat rougher pressure awaited the bale at the wool-sorter's in town. Thence it was handed over to the hydraulic press for the process of "dumping;" and, as the screw now received its inspiration and degrees from the ship's agents, it was proportionately effective, the bale emerging from the machine with only about one-third of the bulk with which it entered. There was again a further and

The cause.

final pinch at the hands of the steevidore on board ship. But all this scene of mutilation is now changed, and the honoured bales, alike undumped and unsteevidored, are conveyed to their destination at a freight of one halfpenny per pound, instead of three or four times that rate, as in days of old, when there was only damage and deformity by way of discount.

Inexhaustible home market.

The last but not the least aid to the squatter is the home wool market. This has ever been inexhaustible. It has swallowed all the yearly increasing clips, and yet the price has ever kept steadily advancing—the sign that the great gorge of the market could digest still more than was thrown in. The price within twenty years has risen from one shilling to two shillings, or even half-a-crown a pound, notwithstanding that the quantity, so far as regards Australia, has increased during the same interval from about thirteen millions of pounds weight to upwards of seventy millions.

Reduced extent of sheep-farms.

We are accustomed to hear of the great flock-masters of Australia. But the flocks of the different Victorian squatters, as they now stand, are by no means generally of an extent to respond to this phrase. The tendencies of the colony of late years, the restricted areas, the increased charges, the competition in every kind of colonial business, and in that of squatting as well as the rest, have all tended towards a subdivision of everything of large dimensions, and its distribution amongst the increasing and competing population. The Commissioner of Lands and Works, in his sketch of the provisions of the new Land Act, again tells us, that in the year 1861 there were, in all the colony, 1029 separate pastoral stations, of which much the larger number, namely, 744, contained each less than ten thousand sheep. There were as many as

71 stations with each less than five hundred sheep, and 171 with between five hundred and two thousand; while but one of these stations possessed more than fifty thousand sheep.

Grasses improved by squatting.

"The official description of the present physical condition of the colony represents about thirteen and a half millions of acres as unoccupied even for pastoral purposes, and therefore sterile or useless, as might be at first naturally inferred. As this large unoccupied area consists mostly of a kind of country covered with what is well known as "impenetrable scrub," and largely prevalent in the wide pastoral districts of the Wimmera and Gipps' Land, this further explanation of the case hardly promises to bring us nearer to the hope that such a country may be found available for any use. Nevertheless the Government appear to expect otherwise. This dense scrub, which often covers a soil capable, but for its presence, of producing good pasturage, may be removed in various ways, and probably at no inadequate cost. This being accomplished, forthwith the grass springs up, as though the earthy particles themselves were its latent but inexhaustible seed. From the first browsing on this grass by a sheep, the first tread of its foot, and manuring from its dung, its depasturing qualities begin to improve. The scattered wiry-looking tufts in which the grass first appears become gradually thicker set, closing in upon every vacancy, and starving and extinguishing every larger competitor. Phillip Island, at the entrance of Western Port, is quoted as a striking instance of such improvement. From being at first nearly covered with a scrubby vegetation, it is now mostly a great natural meadow, capable of supporting thirty thousand sheep. But in fact the larger half of all the colonial area has

already, to a greater or less extent, been similarly improved; and the earlier colonists, had they not been personally graduated on the spot into so striking a change, would hardly have recognised in the smooth grassy lawns of to-day, the rough pasturage over which they stepped with their flocks less than thirty years ago.

"Impenetrable scrub" made available.

There is, therefore, hope even of the impenetrable scrub; so much so, in fact, that of the area just alluded to, one half had already been leased during the years 1860 and 1861, under the preceding Lands' Act of Mr. Nicholson, in various sections to intending squatters, although not yet occupied at the date of the new Act. The Government are now engaged in leasing the remainder; and by way of stimulus to the expected lessees, they are promised leases of fourteen years.

Scale of squatting outside Victoria.

If Victoria is already beyond the condition of representing the art and business of squatting in all its original expansiveness and simplicity, we may still see the original system by transposing ourselves beyond the colonial boundary. Let us then set out northwards and north-westwards, and cross the broad stream of the Murray that separates us from New South Wales. Here we are in a remote extremity of the

The Riverine.

latter colony; having entered the great Riverine district, which is one vast series of squattages, with a total area greater than that of Victoria twice told. There are here above two millions of sheep, besides other live stock; but they enjoy ample elbow room over more than one hundred and fifty thousand square miles of surface. Roaming over this immense expanse, traversed by the Murray's great tributaries, the Darling, the Lachlan, and the Murrumbidgee, we are in the midst of pastoral principalities of the true original

dimensions and seclusion; and we have repeatedly forcible consciousness of these characteristics, by the toil and solitude of a day's journey between the homesteads of adjacent squattages.

One of its stations.

As we glance over some late Melbourne newspapers, we observe one of these pastoral stations with its live stock to be advertised for sale. Here then is a squatting domain of the old unhedged stamp. The station, or the "run," as these squatting areas are called, borders upon the Darling, along which river it possesses a frontage of thirty-five lineal miles, with a back area of eight hundred square miles. This ample estate is described as "salt bush country," and capable, after some outlay upon tanks and wells, of depasturing one hundred thousand sheep. The present quantity of stock, however, was somewhat less numerous, amounting to between five and six thousand head of cattle, eighty horses, and twelve thousand sheep. From a subsequent paper we perceive that these live stock, with "the right of run," were sold for £43,000. This station is Menindie, well known as one of the stages in the progress of the unfortunate Burke and Wills, in their exploratory expedition across Australia in 1860-61. Here, at a distance of five hundred miles from Melbourne, and six hundred from Sydney, the squatter may reasonably indulge in a dream of security, for some time at least, from the inroads of agriculture and land-buying, and the noise of society and civilization.

Menindie.

Squatting in Queensland.

The new colony of Queensland is for the present the great paradise of squatting, as there are still large vacant areas of the young settlement that are comparatively near to shipping ports and markets. The Government dispenses the ample area with a liberal

hand. As no other interest or vocation of comparable importance has as yet arisen in the colony, the squatting element is in the ascendant, socially and politically, as well as commercially; and the colony will probably for yet many years owe a race of rare progress and prosperity mainly to the enterprise of its squatting order, and the pastoral adaptations given by nature to its vast territory.

Instance of results.

It is in such great areas as these, which are dealt out in generous measure at nominal rentals, and which are not inconveniently situated as to markets and seaports, that the business of squatting appears to greatest advantage. Mr. Baker, the Inspector of Factories in England, gives us the actual experience of a Queensland sheep farmer during the last fourteen years. He has been early upon the ground, at a time when the almost tenantless acres were even a cheaper holding than they are now. He begins with £3000, which we assume to be borrowed money, and which is charged with interest at the usual colonial rate of ten per cent. a year. He purchases two thousand ewes and thirty rams. At the end of fourteen years he finds himself possessed of 82,288 sheep, whose market value, added to the proceeds of the sheep and wool disposed of during the last year, make a total sum of £113,300 in place of the original £3000.

Victoria now less favourable.

Such results, had they been steadily and intelligently aimed at, might not have been uncommon to Victoria, when the colony was similarly situated to Queensland; but there is no reasonable ground for expecting them now. Even a very leisurely-going squatter of the old times in Victoria could hardly have failed of some degree of success, if with some means to begin with he but kept out of debt and speculation. At the same time his

more active neighbour, with the like opportunities and safeguards, would have made a large fortune. But the conditions have since quite altered. The former would now inevitably drift to leeward. All must now be active, in order to win a position in the race. Squatting has become a methodical pursuit much as that of a merchant or farmer, and it remunerates those only who understand and attend to it.

Number of sheep.

But in spite of gold-mining and agriculture, our Australian associations of ideas are destined, for still a long future, to be mainly with squatting. The vast interior, of late so successfully explored, is, in a prospective sense, one great succession of pastoral settlements, where the sheep will penetrate to distances far beyond even their present range, and exist in numbers many times their present quantity, large as that has become since Australian breeds and fine Australian wools first rose to the world's notice. Let us revert to the memorable importation of a few Merino sheep into Sydney in the year 1797, by Mr. John Macarthur. That eventful step was the first systematic effort towards an Australian wool trade. The representatives of this handful of sheep are now scattered over a million of square miles of the different Australasian colonies. The original colony of New South Wales, or rather what now remains of that once huge territory, minus the successive offshoots to the north, the south, and the west, possesses above six millions of sheep. These vigorous offshoots, too, are themselves already vast sheep farms, rivalling, and even threatening to outstrip their parent colony. Queensland has about four and a half millions of sheep, Victoria six millions, and South Australia three and a half millions. West Australia, with a slow march, attains only to three hundred thousand, and

In Australasia.

Tasmania is stationary at about two millions; while New Zealand, with the indications of a rapid growth, has reached above three millions. We have thus a respectable total of more than twenty-five millions of sheep.*

Quantity of wool.

The quantity of wool annually exported from these southern colonies is now very large, is still on the whole increasing rapidly, and is, as already remarked, of great importance to the trade of this country. In some instances, the quantity of wool from some one particular colony bears no exact proportion to that colony's number of sheep; as, for instance, with Victoria and New South Wales, the former colony exporting nearly double the quantity of wool exported by the latter, while both possess about equal numbers of sheep. New South Wales was wont, in former years, to cultivate a finer breed of wool than Victoria, but the exertions and experience of the Victorian flockmasters have since raised their colony to a level with its rival in that respect. The apparent anomaly of New South Wales's relatively small production of wool arises from the fact that the yearly clip of a large part of the interior southern and western districts of the colony finds its way for shipment to the seaports of the other colonies, and particularly those of Victoria, through the facilities of the navigation of the rivers Murray and Darling, and the railway system of the latter colony. Thus the official statistics for the year 1862 show that the total production of wool in New South Wales was 20,988,393 lb. weight, of which quantity only 13,482,139 lb. had been exported from the colony's seaports, leaving 7,506,254 lb. as the quantity sent overland, or by river, into adjacent colonies.

In New South Wales.

According to returns for the end of 1862.

The interior river navigation promises now indeed to be very important, and commands much attention from the three colonies, New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, that are concerned in it. In September, 1863, a steamer in the Victoria trade of the Murray, had returned to that river from a successful ascent of the Darling up to a point one hundred miles beyond Fort Bourke. She brought back two hundred bales of wool of that season's clip from the pastoral stations of the river Warrego, thus carrying off even the produce of Queensland for shipment at Melbourne. About the same time, another steamer, loaded and despatched at Melbourne, had safely accomplished an equally arduous and important voyage by penetrating, to an unprecedented distance, the waters of the Hume or Upper Murray beyond the town of Albury.

In Victoria, etc.

To return to each colony's yearly contribution of wool, we find that, taking the returns of 1862 for our guide, New South Wales gives thirteen and a half million pounds weight (exclusive of the overland and river exportations, which count in the returns of Victoria and South Australia); Victoria, twenty-five millions of pounds; South Australia, fourteen millions; Queensland, twelve millions; West Australia about one million; and Tasmania, five millions; while New Zealand, rapidly increasing, has already reached about ten millions. Thus we have in all above eighty millions of pounds weight of fine wool.

The Home Wool Trade.

Increase of Australian wool.

Australia has largely contributed to the present magnitude of the home-trade in imported wool. For the year 1862, the quantity imported into Britain, which twenty years before had been under thirteen

millions of pounds weight, had risen to between seventy-one and seventy-two millions of pounds, and comprised nearly one half of the entire wool importation of this country. While indulging in expressions of the present magnitude of this trade, there is a prospect that the future will ere long completely dwarf all such attainments, quite as much as they have surpassed those before them. Wool may yet run abreast of the great cotton interest. There is an energetic race of wool production in several of our colonial groups; and, although Australia is, and has been, conspicuously in the van of her rivals, she may some day be hard pressed in maintaining the front rank. Here is a picture of what deserves the name of progress:—

Rivalry of other colonies.

IMPORTATION OF WOOL AT DECENNIAL PERIODS INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM, FROM INDIA, THE CAPE, AND AUSTRALIA.

Year.	India.	Cape.	Australia.	Total of United Kingdom Importation from all parts.
	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.
1842	4,246,000	1,265,000	12,979,000	45,881,000
1852	7,880,000	6,388,000	43,197,000	93,761,000
1862	17,959,000	18,930,000	71,339,000	168,854,000

The wool sales.

London is still the great head-quarters of the Colonial wool trade, notwithstanding that Liverpool, whose supremacy in the cotton trade is so decided, has long made efforts, and of late not unsuccessfully, to appropriate also this portentous branch of our commerce. In London the sales of the colonial wools, by the practice of nearly half a century, are conducted by public auction. This system commenced in the year 1817, when the few bales comprising the first sale were disposed of at quite fancy prices to a curious assemblage, who thus marked their sense of interest in a new and

promising event, but of whom none perhaps contemplated the large future into which that day of small things would expand. For ten years afterwards, a quantity of four hundred bales was considered to make a large sale; but the reckoning soon after reached thousands, and then tens of thousands. In 1845 there was the unprecedented quantity of more than thirty thousand bales at one series of sales, including a small proportion of foreign wools, which, arriving from some remote countries, had gradually crept into the colonial list. But by this time the trade had outgrown Garraway's, and had been removed, in 1843, to the more commodious quarters of the Hall of Commerce. Ere a dozen years more, however, the ground was again changed; and the buyers, the sellers, and the things sold, expanding with every succeeding year, and elbowed out of the Hall of Commerce, were transferred in 1854 to Moorgate Street Buildings, where Mr. Edenborough, one of the heads of the trade, had prepared suitable accommodations, and where he still contrives to retain his expanding subjects.

Their growing magnitude.

There are still four separate sale series for the year —namely, in February, May, July, and November; but the quantity on the different occasions, instead of the early boasted four hundred bales, now not unfrequently exceeds one hundred thousand bales, while six or seven weeks may be occupied successively in getting through the sale. One can imagine the brokers of this formidable-looking trade forecasting the future in some doubt as to their continuous powers of manipulating the year with its limited hours, so as to suit their growing necessities. There is already a rule of the trade that three thousand bales at the least must pass the hammer each day of a session. The system thus graduates into

the wholesale character, where the lots that consisted at first of a single bale have expanded into a dozen or a score. But presently even three thousand bales a day will prove too slow a progress, and each lot must then consist of the whole of each "mark," or clip of each settler—a mode that the trade, with growing impatience of the protracted hours, already ask for. What is to come next, in order to clear the blocked-up roadway, when even this last step is insufficient, is a question that the perplexed broker may be spared. Sufficient unto the day is its difficulty. But withal there is something inspiring in such a vista of business. To call out, "Hold, enough!" is, we presume, the last resource to be thought of. Doubtless our brokers will stand to their system through all its difficulties, for it is already a traditionary institution of London business; and doubtless, too, we shall some day learn, in this case, as in so many others, how easily difficulties are overcome when necessity supplies the stimulus.

The wool trade.

The home wool trade, the dimensions of the home annual clip, and the total number of sheep in the British islands, are the subjects of interesting comparison with Australia. They present questions that are often asked in our Southern colonies, and all the oftener asked because they can never be very accurately answered, so long as England continues destitute of any systematic means of ascertaining the particulars of her agriculture and live stock. We shall endeavour here to arrive at some leading facts. In order to show that there is some difference of view upon this uncertain subject, we may mention that while Mr. Baker, to whom we have already alluded, estimates the clip of the United Kingdom to have been, for the year 1862, two hundred and eighteen millions of pounds weight,

Mr. Edenborough, whose authority on such a subject can hardly be less, states it at about a million packs, or two hundred and forty millions of pounds. Perhaps this is not much of a difference under the circumstances. We shall adhere to Mr. Baker in regard to our home wool trade, which he illustrates in detail, and revert to Mr. Edenborough, when we come to the estimate of the numbers of the sheep.

Sources of supply.

The sources of this home trade are in the first place the imported wool, less the quantity re-exported; next the home clip, and that of the skin wool; and lastly, the produce of woollen rags, torn up, to be used as wool. These together make a total of about three hundred and sixty-two millions of pounds weight, as thus specified:*—

	lb.
Imported in 1862, deducting re-export	113,742,573
Estimated production in United Kingdom	175,000,000
Ditto from skin wool	43,000,000
Woollen rags (two-thirds imported)	30,000,000
	361,742,573

The yearly demand, adds Mr. Baker, for a fair steady trade throughout the country is estimated as being, on the lowest calculation, 318,000,000 lb. This quantity is composed of—

	lb.
Pure wool	218,260,000
Wool and alpaca	99,705,000

Alpaca wool.

The quantity of alpaca wool imported, as the latest Trade and Navigation Returns inform us, is still very

* Mr. Baker's letter in the "Morning Herald," 4th March, 1863. There is a disagreement with official returns in his quantity of 113,742,573 lb. as the net imported wool. The Trade and Navigation Tables of 1862 give the figures thus:—Total wool imported, 168,854,213 lb.; re-exported, 48,095,428 lb.; net retained, therefore, 120,758,785 lb.; or including alpaca wool, 123,839,672 lb.

limited, having been for 1862 only 3,106,758 lb., and for the previous year almost precisely the same quantity. It is not improbable that within a very few years more the importation of alpaca wool will be augmented largely and steadily from Australia, where by this time there must have been imported above a thousand of these remarkable animals, formerly so rarely to be had and so jealously guarded in the countries to which they are indigenous.

Estimated home clip of wool.

The estimate of the total home clip usually arrived at by the woolbrokers is, as we have said, about a million packs of two hundred and forty pounds weight each, a quantity from which, for a considerable time past, the yearly clip has not materially varied. From this quantity, in the first place, we deduct the skin wool, which represents the sheep withdrawn throughout the year for food, and not, therefore, to be included in an estimate of the average living flock. Assuming this quantity at forty million pounds, we have a remainder to deal with of two hundred million pounds weight of wool. The average weight of each fleece may be taken at between five and six pounds of washed wool, perhaps rather nearer to the smaller than the larger quantity. We thus derive the number of about thirty-

Number of sheep.

seven millions of sheep. From this total we can deduct with accuracy the number of sheep in Ireland and Scotland, as in both of these countries accurate statistics on the subject have for some time past been taken, although, marvellous as it seems, not yet in England. The three and a half millions of the large sheep of Ireland, and the six millions of the small breeds of Scotland, are probably together a fair average of the whole stock of the United Kingdom, and, deducted from that total, leave twenty-seven and a half,

or, let us say, twenty-eight millions of sheep as the number existing in England and Wales. The number of sheep in France is rather less than in the United Kingdom, being thirty-five millions, according to the last returns on the subject made in 1861. The United States of America, according to the census of 1860, possessed twenty-two and a half millions of sheep, of which one-third belonged to the Slave States; the total wool clip of that year having been sixty millions of pounds weight.

And in France and United States.

An impression used to be very general in Australia, and still perhaps continues, that as these Southern colonies were so essentially pastoral, and the increase of sheep was very rapid over such ample and suitable areas, they had already attained, in point of the numbers of live stock, to a position in which they had few rivals. This idea, however, as we may infer from the preceding statements, is not correct. There are still in England alone a few more sheep than in the whole of Australasia. Such density of packing—for England has not two-thirds of the area of even the smallest Australian colonial territory, that of Victoria—is what the South cannot yet practically understand, and what a precarious climate will long perhaps render impossible. But artificial irrigation and other improvements may some day convert the sultry drought of the Southern climate into the active stimulant of vegetation, instead of being its fatal check, and may possibly alter the Australian standard of five acres to one sheep into the happier proportions of five sheep to one acre.

Australian sheep still few in comparison.

CHAPTER XIV.

AGRICULTURE AND WINE-GROWING.

Agriculture checked at first by squatting and gold-mining—Later progress in Victoria—South Australia in advance—State of colonial farming—Average yield of crop—Australian wheats at the Great Exhibition—Victoria's prizes; wheat, flour, oatmeal, tobacco, etc.—Farming reputed unremunerative—Question examined—Australian vines and wine-making—Colonial wine-trade—Protective effect of imported wine duty—France as a wine country.

Agriculture dwarfed by squatting.

AGRICULTURE in Victoria is only now rising to an important position. The colony begins to be familiar also with the pleasant scenes of vine plantations and yearly vintages. The prominence now given to all these subjects is a new feature to Victoria. During the first period of the colony's life squatting pursuits absorbed the chief attention. The rapidity with which pastoral colonization overspread an empty country, and the importance of the large export of wool that was promptly created from a previously unused waste of natural grass, gave a predominating influence to squatting. The agriculturist of these early days was a being who was but little heard of. On whatever scale, he was literally "the small farmer," as compared to the pastoral magnates around and beyond him. The clean and tidy grass of the undisturbed soil, the ample domain, the substantial property of large flocks and

herds, the corresponding scale of capital and profit, ever carried the day for the squatting vocation against the little world of agriculture. The one roamed over an ocean of grass, subject to only a nominal rental; the other was charged a minimum price of £1 an acre, a very high and very obstructive price in a young and remote colony. In 1851, after sixteen years of colonial existence, every spot of the country available in its natural state for pasturage, had already for years been occupied by the squatter; while, on the other hand, as regarded agriculture, only a little over fifty thousand acres out of a total area of more than fifty-five millions had been subjected to cultivation.

Retarded by gold-mining.

Such was the colony's first period. The second is inaugurated by the gold discoveries. This event seemed the very climax of hostile influences to agricultural prospects. A gold country, as many said, can never compete with the world at large in raising bread, and Victoria, therefore, is not destined, with her hard, comfortless, but superabundant riches, to enjoy the truly English and domestic picture of farm-steadings, waving corn-fields, and annual harvest-homes. These gloomy predictions have all miscarried. They have even resulted in precisely opposite directions; for, while the gold-fields have no feature whatever of superabundant riches, the colony is already growing widely agricultural, and is producing its food so abundantly as to permit of its being sold at a price that will allow of scarcely any importation from countries beyond Australia.

Success in South Australia.

Prior to the gold era, the example of the adjacent colony of South Australia had shown to Victoria that great success was quite attainable in agriculture upon

an Australian soil. Again, at the time when gold-mining had redarkened with greatest intensity all Victoria's agricultural horizon, a ship arriving at Melbourne from California, loaded with oats and bread-stuffs, forming part of the surplus agricultural produce of Victoria's great gold-bearing rival, first awakened the theorizing part of the colonists from their reverie. Another and another ship followed from the same golden region; and a trade that has been established for years past is only now coming to a close in consequence of Victoria's adequate production for the supply of her own wants, and the complete refutation of her own past views and predictions.

And now in Victoria.

And at length Victoria is really a land of plenty, produced by turning up her previously-neglected soil. Let us luxuriate for a moment in the late description of a Melbourne newspaper, which alludes to the effects of unusually, or, as it is called, unseasonably fine weather. One hardly sympathizes very deeply with the sort of distress that results from a profusion of the choicest food and delicacies. It seems a kind of distress very easy to deal with. "The country is everywhere covered with abundant herbage, and many of the fruit-trees are bearing a second crop. Even the strawberry plants are in many places laden with berries again; and vegetables are so plentiful that heaps of cabbages, parsnips, carrots, turnips, and such like things, are given away on each market-day, only the very best of each kind being saleable, and this at the lowest prices—in fact, so low are these, that the gardeners near town are absolute losers by the profusion with which they are burdened. Never before did they experience any similar approach to the summer rains of a tropical climate, and so were not prepared for the rapidity of

growth which has caused their produce to become almost worthless."*

Recent progress.

The great extension of agriculture latterly may be inferred from the fact that the number of occupiers, which in the year 1856 amounted to 4325, had increased in 1862 to 14,960. The number of acres under crop had increased from 180,000 in 1857 to 463,000 in 1863. One of the effects of this extended cultivation is very evident in the diminished importation of agricultural produce. Let us compare, as to this branch of trade, the two years, 1855 and 1861. These years comprise an interval during which the colony nearly doubled its population. And yet in the later year, with its larger number of people, the imported products are scarcely one-third of their former amount.

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE IMPORTATION INTO VICTORIA OF SOME OF THE CHIEF ARTICLES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE DURING THE YEARS 1855 AND 1861.

Articles.	1855.	1861.
	£	£
Wheat and Flour	1,550,338	616,354
Oats	594,248	153,148
Potatoes	316,816	26,740
Acreage under crop . . .	130,000	419,252

Area under crop, etc.

The total area under crop in Victoria for the present year, 1863, is 463,300 acres. This extent of cultivation, as we have seen, is a great increase upon the scale of the past few years. The area is, however, remarkably small as compared with that of the land purchased, which for the same year amounted to 4,529,313 acres. Certainly but a small proportion of the land-buyers seem to have had cultivation in view.

* "Melbourne Argus" of 25th April, 1863.

We are to attribute the circumstance mainly to the wealth of the colony derived from mining and squatting. The prosperous colonist largely seeks investment in land, and is satisfied either to continue his purchased sections in the pastoral uses to which they were, perhaps, previously applied, or to hold them for a prospective market at some day when the colony's progress had greatly increased their value. Colonial legislation has of late been directed to check this last system, but such efforts do not appear to have yet been successful. The Registrar-General informs us that the average size of farms in Victoria, as estimated from the data of the year 1862, was ninety-seven acres. Of the 14,960 different occupiers, the larger number were resident upon sections of from fifty to two hundred acres each.

And in South Australia.

Taking a comparative view of other countries, we find the area under crop in South Australia in the year 1863 to be 494,511 acres. The area of sold land at the same date, namely, 2,502,720 acres, is much less in proportion to that of the cultivated area than in Victoria. The former colony, indeed, is still in advance, both in vine cultivation and in agriculture generally, and the greater part of the agricultural produce that Victoria still needs to import is supplied by South Australia.

Colonial farming.

A chief article of cultivation on the new lands of colonies is wheat. This exhausting crop derives from a virgin soil that successive yearly support that only a careful artificial manuring can supply to long-used soils. On the banks of the Hunter and the Hawkesbury, in New South Wales in past times, when rotation and manuring were little known and less attended to, the rule was said to be wheat year after year as a matter of course, and of traditionary practice. But now the best protection from this booby farming is that it will not

remunerate under present competition, and at the present prices of the produce. The Port Phillip Farmers' Society could tell us that experience and science are not neglected in the colony, although there is not yet any recognized and systematically followed crop rotation suited to its particular case. There are even importations of Peruvian guano, besides small supplies of the same kind of manure that are picked off from some of the small Australian islands adjacent to the colonies.

Cereal crops.

The proportion of cereal crops to the whole cultivated area in Australian colonies generally is large. The natural pasturage long supplies the place of sown grasses, turnips, and other artificial food for live stock. In Victoria, out of 463,300 acres of cultivation, the cereals covered 278,071 acres, and consisted almost entirely of wheat and oats. There were 161,253 acres under wheat, and 107,391 acres under oats. The latter, which is sown for the production of hay as well as oats, is with colonists quite as favourite a crop as wheat, and Mr. Story lifts a warning voice against the bad effects to the land arising from their exhaustive character.* Of other crops of the colony there were 24,731 acres in potatoes, and the remaining acreage was devoted chiefly to oats sown with the view of being converted into hay, to sown grasses and green forage. There were also about 2000 acres of vineyard. Australia is by nature a vast pasturage, and the indigenous grass, besides its ready abundance, can better resist the sun and drought of the country than the usual imported kinds are found to do. New Zealand, however, with a climate of more temperate conditions, avails itself more largely of sown grasses, whose area

* Agriculture of Victoria, in vol. of "Prize Essays," pp. 53, 54.

amounts at present (the end of the year 1861) to 158,000 acres in a total cultivation of 226,478 acres.

Comparisons.

Scotland.

Turning our comparison to remoter countries, the crops of Scotland seem to be a mean between these preceding instances. Cereals comprise two-fifths of the whole, green crops one-fifth, and grasses and hay the remaining two-fifths.

Ireland.

Ireland is exceptionally large in the comparative area of oats; and, of course, also in that of potatoes. Of the total cultivated area of 5,661,180 acres in 1863, oats covered 1,948,986 acres, and potatoes 1,023,686 acres.

France.

France exhibits a large proportionate area of cereal crops, to the extent, namely, of almost one-half of the whole cultivated area, and between a third and a fourth of the entire area of the country.

Yield per acre.

South Australia.

The average yield of Australian crops is by no means great. South Australia, which has taken the lead of all the other Southern colonies in agriculture, gives only about twelve bushels of wheat to the acre. For the year 1863 the proportion was 12·6 bushels per acre, but in 1862 it was barely 11 bushels. West Australia, on an average of some years past, gives only 12·6 bushels to the acre.

New South Wales.

New South Wales, although exhibiting a somewhat better result, is yet as low in its average as about 15 bushels to the acre. As the lands of Victoria enjoy the advantage of being projected into more southerly and cool latitudes than those of these sister colonies, and have generally a richer soil derived from the extensive overspread of basaltic rocks, we may look for better results than the foregoing to the colony's agriculture.

Victoria.

The average of five years, 1856—1860, gives for wheat 22½ bushels to the acre, for oats 29½ bushels, and for potatoes a little over three tons to the acre. The averages of Scotland for the years 1856

and 1857 give the yield of wheat at 27½ bushels per acre, of oats at 35 bushels, and of potatoes at three tons per acre.

Climate suitable.

The Australian climate is, on the whole, not unfavourable to agriculture, because its extreme features of heat and drought do not, for the most part, appear until at a season of the year well on to harvest. The strong sun power, the swoop of the hot wind, the long-continued rainless, cloudless sky, are features not usually at their full and damaging development until the summer has advanced sufficiently to place the crops beyond danger. The fierce sun and the fiery breath he has kindled in the interior country, expend their powers in most cases harmlessly on fields of stubble; or if they come at an earlier stage upon the farmer, they but quicken his movements to meet an accelerated maturing of his crop.

Australian wheats at Great Exhibition.

This climate is well suited to wheat growing. To the remarkable dryness of its weather we may perhaps chiefly ascribe that white and flour-like quality of grain, and thinness of skin, that are the characteristics of the best wheat. In England, it may be remarked, the dry years are always the best for wheat, as the bran is then least in proportion to the flour, while the grain shows its quality by the only true test, its increased weight. The Australian wheats at the Great Exhibition, were of conspicuous excellence and the samples from Victoria carried pre-eminence in that vast competitive gathering of arts and industry. Victoria, in fact, was loaded with honours, having carried off, in the department of wheat alone, no less than fifteen medals and sixteen "honourable mentions."

Prize to Victorian wheat.

The Exhibition judges had expressed the opinion that the wheat of Victoria formed the best series of

samples of the kind that had come under their notice; and this high compliment to the colony received a very decided confirmation on a subsequent occasion. The circumstances of this latter case were of rather a circuitous and amusing character, and are well worth recording. A general exhibition of the national and colonial agricultural produce, called for by the Horticultural Society at Kensington, succeeded the Great International spectacle. In the interval the various samples of cereals, and in particular the colonial samples, had been freely exchanged and passed about with an amicable rivalry in the comparison of qualities. A Canadian exhibitor, thus getting possession of a choice sample of Victorian wheat, had placed it, undistinguished by name, amongst his own colony's samples. Presently the judges, after a general inspection, intimate that they have awarded the first sample to Canada, and the second to Victoria. But the fact soon after transpires that the subject of this first prize is a Victorian sample, as well as that of the second. The former indeed is no other than the choice sample above alluded to as having been placed among the Canadian wheat. Some little altercation which follows results in an assurance on the exhibitor's part, that there was neither deception intended nor regulations broken in a vigorous effort to gain the Society's medal. Victoria at least emerges with fame undimmed from the ordeal.

Victorian oatmeal.

Several samples of flour also obtained distinctions at the Great Exhibition. There was a successful show of maize; while a medal for colonial oatmeal, on account of excellence of quality, seems to threaten an invasion of the old monopoly of Scotland. If the colony does succeed in rivalling its North British mother, so far as regards

the approved manufacture, it has still a more arduous rivalry to equal Scotland's powers of consumption of this great article of her national diet.

Tobacco of colonial production was another article for which Victoria drew further prizes and commendations at the Exhibition. Australia, as we have seen, ranks high in the scale of tobacco consumers. The intermittent supplies caused by the American war having trebled the customary prices, a great stimulus was thus imparted to native production. A late number of the "Melbourne Journal of Commerce" alludes to high prices realized by "colonial made Havanas," on the occasion of a sale at the manufactory of Messrs. Wittkowski Brothers. The quality, in both the leaf and the manufactured state, has already been pronounced excellent. Tobacco.

Although agriculture has been so successful, as we have seen, in the quality of its produce, yet farming is commonly reported in the colony to be unremunerative. Let us examine the case, for there does seem some ground for the report, if we look to the fact of the frequent recurrence, year after year, of rents being lowered, leases being surrendered, and poor "small farmers" being ruined. We must, however, bear in mind that the colony has, for some time past, been subsiding from a sort of abnormal condition, into which it had been placed for a few years by temporary circumstances connected with the gold-mining disturbance. Accompanying this event too, and in aggravation of its effects, was the very inadequate supply of land put into the market for sale by the Government at a time when the country was rapidly expanding in its resources, means, and population. The combined results of these incidents were the maintaining of a high price for Farming reputed unremunerative. Subject examined.

agricultural produce—as high in fact as the check of a free importation would ever permit, and of a relatively still higher price for land, with of course a somewhat proportionate rental to farming tenants.

Past and present case.

Thus it arises that in Victoria the price of all kinds of agricultural produce has been almost constantly falling during the last eight or nine years, as, for instance, that of flour, from £40 or £50 a ton, to its present rate of about £15 a ton. It is not possible for farming, more than any other business so situated, to maintain the appearance of prosperity, or make solid progress, under such a constant head wind of adverse circumstances. It is but one continued upsetting of all the bases of estimates founded on preceding data; and we must, therefore, suspend judgment on farming prospects in Victoria, until we experience a more settled and permanent condition of the colony—a condition that is probably now not far distant.

Meanwhile, there is an ample available area, and the fertility of the soil is beyond all question. Equally ascertained too is the productive success, as to both quality and average quantity, of Victorian farming. The difficulties and obstructions do not properly belong to the case. High rents in a young colony, whose territory is still mainly an unused waste, are a lamentable result of its politico-economical arrangements; almost as much, indeed, as though the people were paying heavily for the air they breathed, and the water they drank, and, into the bargain, were accepting the fact as an enlivening evidence of their country's wealth.

Farming less pretending than squatting.

There is yet another view of this reported unremunerative farming. Everything is by comparison, as the phrase is; and Victorian farming has had the disadvantage of ever being compared with Victorian squatting.

Farming credit has suffered in this ordeal. Squatting in the earlier years was exceedingly profitable, as being a vocation entirely suited to the natural state of the colony, specially encouraged by the Government, lightly taxed, and conducted at comparatively small cost. It was also a business that, owing to the unlimited outside market for the wool and tallow, could be conducted on a larger scale than ordinary farming. Gradually, therefore, capital was largely represented in squatting pursuits, and there was the common result of a considerable proportion of absentee proprietorship. The business, no doubt, is one of many risks from infectious diseases, and of fluctuations from the colony's circumstances, and latterly, too, the high squatting privileges of earlier days have been on the wane; nevertheless, from the attractive average results, the *prestige* has ever been maintained. In consequence of this flourishing repute of a leading pursuit, there is somewhat of a habit in the colony to associate the idea of remuneration, not with the comfortable maintenance of a resident household, but with a result over and above all this—a maintenance for an absentee. One is apt, under such high ideas, to count as nothing the attainment of what is expressively, but in rather homely phrase, termed the "full belly" of small farming life; whereas to reach this point is, in reality, to vanquish society's main difficulty. When a man complains that he never knows he has a stomach, his dyspeptic friend might well read him a lecture.

Vine-growing and Wine-making.

Australian vines and wine.

The vine has now begun in earnest to creep its way over Australia, and already Australian wine has attracted the world's notice. It drew forth commenda-

tions at the Paris Exhibition eight years ago. New South Wales has now, for many years past, enjoyed the spectacle, classic, and time honoured, of a yearly vintage, and the younger colonies are fast upon the heels of the senior. South Australia, indeed, is already in the van with vine-growing and wine-making, as she has long been with respect to other branches of agriculture. Nearly half a million gallons of wine were produced in that colony from the crop of the year 1862.

Victoria.

In Victoria the quantity was only 140,000 gallons; while the area of vineyard was, at 31st March, 1863,

South Australia.

1964 acres; that of South Australia being as much as 4777 acres. This latter colony appears to be in the full speed of progress, for only three years before, there were but 2201 acres of vines, and a production of 180,000 gallons of wine. But, on the other hand, Victoria, although later in entering upon this part of her work, is not less in earnest at last. In 1863 the vines in existence numbered within a trifle of four millions, South Australia having already planted nearly six millions. We have thus a promising beginning, and should the vine disease make yet further ravages in Europe, the New World may, some few years hence, be found supplying the Old with a third great human requisite, in addition to Australian wool and Australian gold.

German colonists and the vine.

The extent and success of vine-growing in South Australia is due, in a great measure, to a considerable immigration of the Germans, who began to arrive in the colony at an early period of its history. Subsequently, in the year 1849, the same people began to emigrate to Port Phillip also, and they are now the chief cultivators of the vine in Victoria. They give very great attention to their vineyards, which are usually of small area, but cultivated with the most assiduous care. There are

also several vineyard associations, which have been latterly encouraged by the gratuitous use of suitable land for a certain time from the Government, and which propose to do business on a much larger scale. One of these companies, as we observe in a late colonial paper, possesses two hundred acres of vines, from which it is anticipated that there will be from twenty to thirty thousand gallons of wine made in the year 1864.*

Colonial wine trade.

The interior parts of the colony seem most suitable for vines, where the warm sun of summer alternates with a touch of sharp winter's frost. The Murray district is already a scene of yearly vintages, and in conjunction with the district of the Murrumbidgee, has commenced the methodical plan of public auctions of the wine produce. The first of these auctions took place at the town of Albury, in November, 1863, when

* Stated by Mr. J. P. Bear, a member of the Legislative Council, in addressing his constituents in March last, 1863. Mr. Bear's late father, we may remark, was one of the earliest wine producers in the colony, although, like most others of the early days, in a limited and amateur way. Seventeen years ago he favoured the author with a few bottles of still champagne, which proved of excellent quality, and was in fact the only wine of Victoria the author met with, either then or for some years after, that could be enjoyed without the aid of a strong underground of patriotism. There are great improvements since, however. But the "Clarets," "Burgundies," "Hermitage," etc., of the antipodes want what is called a *clean* flavour, besides having their own peculiarities. For both these reasons, and especially for the last, they should not be condemned to permanent humiliation by having European names imposed upon them. One is, therefore, glad to hear of "Camden," "Verdeilho," "Irrawang," etc., etc. Let us sink colonial "Hermitage," "Burgundy," and "Sauterne," which have already appeared here and there upon the new field. The author has still several samples of New South Wales' wines, kindly given him by Mr. Edward Wilson, which are now ten years old, and quite sound and enjoyable, even without any accessory spice of the patriotism.

ten and a half hogsheads were sold at prices varying from 5*s.* to 13*s.* per gallon. A few years hence we may have to record greater doings in this way. The auction system seems in favour with the rising colonial wine trade. Wine is getting so abundant in the Geelong district, say the busy folks of that quarter, that a system of regular auction sales has been commenced there also. The first sale came off in October, 1863, with the encouragement of a good attendance, and the comparatively large stock of one hundred hogsheads of wine. The prices of the occasion varied from 3*s.* 11*d.* to 6*s.* 9*d.* per gallon, showing the advantage of the Albury market due to its distance from the seaports, and the competition of imported wines. On this account, indeed, these remoter locations, where the substantial market of a large gold-field is adjacent, are preferred by the growers, because the grapes or the wine produced there enjoy what is virtually a high protection in the cost of bringing up rival supplies. And that this aid is no small matter may be inferred from the fact, that as the later news from the colony tells us, £1 per gallon is readily given at the town of Beechworth for wine produced in the neighbourhood.

Imported wine duty a protection.

This is a natural protection to every colonial wine-grower, arising from unavoidable circumstances, and he is fully entitled to its whole benefits. But the Customs' duty on imported wine operates as a protection of a different kind. This duty is at present so considerable as 3*s.* per gallon, or more than £15 per pipe—an amount that is in fact sufficient to stand as the full price of any ordinary wine in the country of its production. This duty was lately raised from 2*s.* per gallon to its present rate from considerations of revenue necessities; and yet the increasing supply of home-made

wine is yielding no revenue, while the public are paying for it, as well as for the imported article, the enhanced price that results from the considerable duty placed upon the latter. It is very undesirable that a great colonial vocation, such as wine-making promises to be, should grow up on the insecure and costly platform of protection, instead of rising up independently from the firm ground of self-support, in common with the other colonial pursuits. The colony must keep in view a future time, when the home market will be over-supplied, and when, with ever-increasing production, the colonists must extend their market outside into that wide world where domestic protections and preferences will be of no avail except to incapacitate the protected for the ordeal. We have stated that the home wine-production of Victoria for 1862 amounted to 140,000 gallons. The quantity of wine imported for consumption during the same year amounted to 270,330 gallons, showing a progressive reduction in this branch of trade, the quantity for 1860, for instance, having been above 300,000 gallons. We may anticipate that ere long there will be enough from home production to supply the chief part of the colony's demand. California, which is in some respects in an equal race with Victoria, produced above a million gallons of wine in 1862.

Case of France.

But if these two rival territories are aiming at the distinction of being great wine-producing countries, they have both of them a vast attainment to make beyond their respective present positions. Let us somewhat realize these relative positions by comparing an old established wine-producing country of Europe. Let us take France as our example, and examine the attainment of the great empire of claret. The average annual wine production of France is almost eleven hun-

dred millions of gallons; and of this vast sea of grape-juice sixty-seven per cent. is consumed in the country, leaving thirty-three per cent. available for export. More than one twenty-fifth part of the whole area of France is vineyard, or, in other words, nearly 8600 square miles, or rather more than five and a half millions of acres.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SCIENCE OF THE GOLD QUESTION.

Australia an apparent but not real exception to ascertained laws of gold—Ancient geological analogies with the rest of the world—Modern marsupial peculiarities—Some peculiarities, but general analogies with gold—Age of the gold drifts; probably of Miocene age—Conditions for presence of gold—Origin of quartz, the chief matrix of gold—Other minerals in quartz; mundic—New South Wales official inquiry into quartz mining—Basaltic beds in the drifts, and what their teachings—The "lead" and the "gutter"—Rival claimants to the merits of the Australian gold discovery; the claims of science.

Increased information on gold.

BOTH the science and the art of gold mining in Australia have made great advances since the first attempts to explain and develope the treasure-fields of our Southern colonies. Since that time Victoria has enjoyed the advantage of possessing men of science well able to investigate the subject on the spot; in particular, Professor McCoy, of the Melbourne University, and Mr. Selwyn, the Government geologist. Their local observations, in common with the deductions of Sir Roderick Murchison, drawn from a wider circle of data, have given us much late information, as well as opened to science some curious and still unsolved problems on the difficult but interesting gold question.

General law of gold.

Australia, indeed, promised to present, in her gold-mining aspects, features as distinct from those of the

rest of the gold-producing world, as she does in comparing her present world of animal and vegetable life with the same kind of world elsewhere. One of the characteristics of gold-bearing reefs which, although still unexplained, has been placed among scientific facts by adequate observation, is the circumstance of such reefs presenting a diminishing proportion of gold as the excavation descends from the surface. Repeatedly has it been ascertained in Mexico, Russia, and elsewhere, that while the upper part of an auriferous vein or reef has been rich enough to yield a profit to the miner, the quantity of gold at lower depths has proved inadequate, and still lower it has almost or entirely disappeared from the matrix.

Australia apparently an exception.

Australian evidence seemed at first to overturn this established scientific deduction. Indeed, there were so many instances, not merely of a continuous sameness of the proportion of gold in the downward descent of reefs, but even of an increase after reaching great depths, that the practical miner was fain to establish for Australia the very opposite principle, as with characteristic ardour he excavated alike the loose drift and the solid reef, under a strong practical notion that the heaviest treasures would be everywhere at the lowest levels. We have here one among many examples of the tenacity of the man of science, and his faith in the deductions made from the data of nature. Sir R. I. Murchison is our great authority in all that pertains to the science of the gold question. Sir Roderick was not to be shaken from his principle, and each year of late has shown more and more clearly that Australia is no real exception to the general case.

Not really such.

The solution of Australia's seeming contradiction relates mainly to the very deep auriferous drifts with

which Victorian mining has latterly made us familiar. The extraordinary richness, as well as the extraordinary depth of these drifts, surpasses everything of the kind previously known in gold mining. A shaft of from four to five hundred feet in perpendicular depth is still within the drifts. Its formation has been a business of perhaps four, or even five years. Disregarding all minor attractions of intermediate drift beds, the miners have pushed steadily on to the lowest depth, where eventually their expenses and their profits are made good together. If they are upon "the lead," if they are into "the gutter," all is made good two or three times over. Doubtless these lowest parts of the drifts were once the uppermost parts of the veins and reefs. Marvellously rich, truly, must these latter have been, and with auriferous indications far beyond anything presented to us now, as we deal with lower parts of the same veins and reefs that remain to the miner from the attrition of preceding time. The fitful and contradictory indications of some of these reefs in Victoria may somewhat perplex the observer; for, as excavation goes deeper, the gold will sometimes increase, and at others diminish, and occasionally it will entirely cease, and at a lower depth reappear. But in all this we see what is, comparatively speaking, but a secondary crop. The surpassing richness of the uppermost parts of the reefs, as now represented by the lowest drifts, corroborates the general law deduced by science. One may regard these irregularities as a sort of unexplained by-play of Nature in her unprecedented profusion, rather than as a real contradiction to the law that has been found elsewhere prevalent.

Australia's general analogies.

Australia, then, in this respect as well as in some others, has been of late years brought more into a common

association with the rest of the world than was at one time predicated of her strange and exceptional appearance. She is still more exceptional in her living than in her mineral world, but she is less so than was at first imagined. There is a curious question as to how she came into such exclusive possession of her extraordinary marsupial animals. But, when we go back in the geological record, Australia puts off her separate and peculiar garment, and is found to be clothed much like the rest of the cotemporary world. For instance, the great Palæozoic formations of the other hemisphere have been mostly re-discovered in Australia in the same relative order of superposition, and with much the same fossil organized components. Her gold is found, as it is found elsewhere, associated with the rocks of Silurian age, and chiefly the lower or older of the series.* The Australian coal formations, too, as they are gradually more fully examined, show the same indications and relative position generally as those of other countries. The Mesozoic strata, which were at one time supposed wanting, have been traced and restored to the Australian series by Professor McCoy. The Tertiaries, too, are represented even to minute characteristics, for the fossils of the Miocene age in Australia present the same indications of a relatively warmer climate than that of to-day which are found in the Miocene beds of Europe.

Marsupial peculiarities.

And yet again, as we ascend the various Tertiary beds towards times, geologically speaking, recent, we come upon the era of huge pachydermatous quadrupeds that were the contemporary analogues in

* A small sprinkling of gold is found in the "Devonian" system of the Northern hemisphere; but the Devonian is wanting in Australia.

Australia of the Dinotherium, the Mammoth, and the Mastodon of America and Europe. Australia, indeed, maintains her analogies by her great thick-skinned quadrupeds of this particular era; but at this time she has broken away, as it were, from the world, and has assumed the quadrupedal peculiarity she has ever since retained. All her noticeable quadrupeds are thenceforth marsupial, with the curious exception of the dingo, or native dog, whose case is now of increased interest, since the question of its being indigenous has lately been solved affirmatively by the discovery of its fossil remains in contemporaneous association with those of extinct quadrupeds. Australia, then, had an era of great pachyderms like other parts of the world; but these mammalian quadrupeds had the peculiarity of being marsupial—an inferiority of gradation that placed them between egg-bearing reptiles and those mammals whose offspring are born in a state of perfect development. The Notatherium and Diprotodon are of this character;* a gigantic true kangaroo leaps at this time on the scene; and as to other peculiarities, the huge birds of the period in question are the wingless moa and emu.

Analogies of the gold question.

In like manner Australia's gold question seems to present some points of divergence, like the marsupialism of her animal kingdom, while it still accords in the main with the result of observation elsewhere. The gold itself is found in the same rock formations as in the rest of the world, namely, the Silurian, and particularly

* Professor McCoy, in December, 1863, approximatively determined, from portions of two teeth found shortly before in Victoria, a new species of Diprotodon that had been at least as large as an elephant. Its characters placed it between the present living wombat and "native bear."

in the lower or more ancient beds, and in the gravel or other *débris* of these rocks. We have the same striking feature in Australia as elsewhere, that the gold does not appear in any Silurian *débris* during the vast intervening period between the Silurian and the Tertiary epochs. How and whence came the gold at last? There is no trace of it, or next to none, amongst the tear and wear of nature, until we reach the comparatively modern era of our auriferous drifts.

Age and thickness of the drifts.

The age and the thick mass of these drifts make one part of Australia's peculiarities in the gold question. The drifts reach back, in Mr. Selwyn's opinion, to the Miocene age of the Tertiary series. There is much uncertainty on the subject; but at any rate he finds the gold in gravel, much waterworn, at the date of the earliest Pliocene. Thus the gold is, probably, further back in time than it is found to be elsewhere, for Sir R. Murchison informs us that the oldest of the Russian drifts are within the Pliocene. One asks, what may be the interval of time involved in a Miocene retrospect? On that long ladder of geological strata before us, we have gone but a few steps below our own era of the "Recent" at the very surface, ere we are already upon the Miocene. By comparison, therefore, it is a modern date. But we are comparing geological ages, and are stepping over years by the million.

The Miocene age.

That very small area of the Recent is surmounted by an almost imperceptible film of space, which represents the era of history and tradition, an era within which we have been accustomed to restrict the existence of man. But the rest of the Recent space has now assumed for us a special interest, because, from late discoveries and deductions, it has been, by some high

authorities, entirely claimed as representing throughout the human epoch. Small, therefore, as appears this crowning step of the spaces of the great ladder, it may yet involve a quarter of a million of years. Thence we descend our ladder through a larger step still more ancient in time, and thus traversing its area, that of the Pleistocene, we enter the expanding series of the Pliocene, at whose termination we are placed upon the frontier of that Miocene age which is the commencing time of the Australian gold-drifts.

Silurian age.

Again, if this Miocene epoch be thus placed at so far a retrospect of time, how are we to regard the vast remainder of geological duration, as compared with which the former seems like a few units before a countless numerical throng? Far down towards the very lowest steps of the great ladder of geological time appears Old Siluria, her seas and rivers, her winds and rains beating interminably against her ancient headlands and "surfaces of denudation," and pounding them down into the gravels and other drift masses of succeeding ages. How is it that these drifts are destitute of gold during an incalculable interval between the Silurian age and that of the Tertiary Miocene, and that the drifts of the later date come upon us, as it were, all of a sudden, with the full auriferous charge as presented by the rich drifts of Victoria? This question comprises a problem that is still unsolved.

Conditions of gold.

One link has been found for the chain of future solution. The gold, as we have said, is present only in association with Silurian rocks; but it is present only where these rocks have been disturbed or broken through by eruptive forces from beneath. Sir R. Murchison tells us, for instance, that the level undisturbed Silurian

Eruptive action.

beds of Russia contain no gold, while the line of the same beds erupted by the Ural chain is auriferous.*

Meridional direction.

We may regard as a second link towards the solution of the gold problem the fact that the meridional ranges only—those running mainly north and south—are accompanied by the gold. The principal gold-fields of Victoria are known to be connected with an extended westerly spur of the great "Australian Cordillera," the gold being found along the shorter lines of subsidiary spurs that project to the north and south of the main tributary. It is, however, worthy of note that in some instances, as at Bendigo, the disturbance from beneath has been so slight as not to have broken through the surface.

Quartz, the chief matrix.

The great matrix of the gold is the quartz. How and whence came the quartz is a question nearly as perplexing as that of the gold. The quartz exists in veins or reefs of a thickness varying from a few inches to as much as fifty feet, and of great and varied extent as to length and depth.

Best conditions for gold

The most favourable gold-bearing conditions may be defined, from Australian experience, as consisting in a quartz reef traversing or interlaminating a Lower Silurian schist rock formation, the latter disturbed or broken through by eruptive action from beneath in a meridional direction. The gold is found pervading the Silurian rock masses along this line of eruption, but seldom in much quantity, excepting at the parts of junction with the erupted rock or with the quartz reef.

The gold, whence derived.

The erupted rock is itself sometimes pervaded very equally with a small proportion of gold in a state of fine division. But these limited sources seem quite inadequate to account for the great Australian supply. Sir R. Murchison

* Murchison's "Siluria," 1859, p. 474, etc.

inclines to look inwards for the main stock, which he thinks may have emerged with the quartz, the latter perhaps in a fused condition, and the whole auriferous relations aided by electricity. The situation and condition of the quartz, whether brought about by means of fusion or otherwise, is still one of the questions of the day.

Origin of quartz.

The Victorian reefs bear in general strong marks of an igneous origin. Thus they have largely interlaminated the Silurian schists, and in doing so have left their marks of disturbance in the upheavals and twistings of the Silurian strata. The sides of the reefs too, where the supposed hot molten quartz has touched the schists, show metamorphic indications in the latter. The presence in the quartz of felspar, a product held to be undoubtedly igneous, is further in favour of the same argument.* Mr. Selwyn, however, brings against the igneous explanation the fact of the presence in the quartz of many perfect and even delicate fossils of the Silurian strata.†

Quartz and granite eras different.

As in some other gold-bearing countries, so in Victoria, the eruptive matter that elevated the Australian auriferous ranges is granite. But from many indications the quartz and the granite disturbances represent two different eras. The former is anterior, as shown by the disturbed, broken, and faulted state of the reefs where the granite has protruded. There are, however, indications of more than one epoch of the quartz, for some reefs show marks of having been disturbed by more recent reefs, and even the granite of having been penetrated by later quartz. The reefs

* Mr. Rosales's Prize Essay: see Essays published by Victoria Government, Melbourne, 1861, pp. 217—222.

† Ibid. p. 223, note.

are usually richest in gold at these disturbed parts. Indeed wherever the quartz reef districts show marks of disturbance, as, for instance, by dykes of igneous rock, the prospects for gold are held to be improved; and where the reefs or veins in turn penetrate the granite, as, for instance, at Adelong, in New South Wales, the latter rock is impregnated with gold to the extent of half an ounce or an ounce to the ton.

Upheaval of reefs.

The upheaving granite has in some localities raised portions of quartz reefs from great depths to their present accessible position at or near to the surface, where they are now found to be rich in gold. The question arises: Were these reefs equally auriferous in their previous subterranean position, thus militating apparently against the law already alluded to, of gold diminishing with the depth; or have they acquired their gold, or gained at least an important accession of quantity, by electrical or other agency connected with the upheaving operation?

The smaller "veins."

From massive reefs that thus raise a controversy as to an igneous origin, we must distinguish the smaller gold repositories, the "veins" that cannot have had such an origin, and that seem to have been conveyed with their contained gold into cracks or fissures of the schists and granite by electric agency. The gold associated with such veins is sometimes found in circumstances that at first seemed isolated and peculiar. "Some surprise," states Mr. Brough Smythe, "was excited in the year 1860 by the discovery of gold in the sandstone rocks at Castlemaine. On investigation, it was found that the sandstone was intersected by numerous very fine veins of quartz, through which the gold was distributed, and though in some parts of the rock the quartz had disappeared (probably by slow disinte-

gration), there was nothing in the circumstance to lead to the supposition that the gold had been deposited in the sandstone other than in the usual manner."*

Other minerals in quartz.

The quartz is often permeated by other minerals than gold. These minerals are chiefly iron pyrites, and arsenical pyrites in great abundance, with haematite and other forms of iron, as well as small quantities of copper pyrites and a very few other minerals. The presence of these sulphurets (pyrites), states Mr. Rosales, may be held to furnish an argument, in addition to others, for the originally fused state of the quartz reefs.

Mundic.

The miner is familiar with most of these minerals under the general term "mundic," a name first applied to the plentiful iron pyrites, but afterwards extended to other minerals of similar appearance. The miner has learned to have faith in the presence of gold when he comes upon the mundic, but in other respects the latter is a formidable obstacle, from the difficulty and expense it occasions in the extraction of the gold from the quartz. In Victoria the gold is found in small quantities outside the usual quartz matrix, and its

* "Prefatory Essays to Catalogue of Victorian Exhibition, Melbourne," 1861, p. 85. This publication is one among many other practically useful effects of the late great International Exhibition. Most of the colonies issued publications of a similar kind, giving summaries of information on the leading topics. The present is quite a pattern in this respect, and comprises, amongst other subjects, the following essays:—On the Colony's Statistics and Resources generally, by the Registrar-General, Mr. Archer; the Vegetation, etc., by Dr. Mueller; Mining and Gold Statistics, by Mr. R. Brough Smythe; Climatology, by Mr. Neumayer; Natural History of Victoria, by Prof. McCoy; its Geology, by Mr. Selwyn. Mr. Birkmyre has added an attractive list of gold nuggets, small and great, found hitherto over the world, by far the greater part, both in number and dimensions, being those of Victoria.

immediate vicinities, in combination with some other minerals. For instance, it is mixed with the silver lately found (in the form of a chlorobromide) at St. Arnaud, and also in the antimony lodes of McIvor.

New South Wales' official inquiry.

An official inquiry into quartz mining, at the instance of the New South Wales Government, in the year 1860, and committed to the care of the Sydney Mint-master and Professor Smith, gives important information upon the gold-bearing reefs, both of that colony and Victoria. The localities examined

Adelong.

were chiefly Adelong, near Gundagai, on the river Murrumbidgee, in New South Wales, and Bendigo, in Victoria. The testimony generally is to the effect that the proportion of the gold diminishes as the downward excavation of the reef proceeds. Sometimes the quartz proved purely auriferous to a certain depth from the surface, after which the gold disappeared, and was replaced by mundic. There were,

Bendigo.

however, remarkable exceptions, particularly at Bendigo. The excavation of the reefs at the latter place had proceeded to a depth of even four or five hundred feet, while at Adelong the depth had not as yet exceeded two hundred feet. But at Adelong, as a general rule, the gold diminished with increase of depth. In most instances, the quartz at the upper parts was mixed with gold only; after which came mundic with less gold; and finally, white quartz with little or no gold. At Bendigo, on the other hand, some reefs continued rich even to great depths. "Johnston's reef," for instance, was giving seventeen ounces to the ton of stone at a depth of three hundred feet. In some cases there was even an increase with the depth; as,

Tarrengower.

for example, at Tarrengower, another locality of Victoria, where one of the reefs, after yielding from four to

eight ounces to the ton, became poorer at a lower depth, until the excavation had attained to two hundred and twenty feet from the surface, after which the gold increased to eleven ounces per ton. We have spoken of Nature's byeplay with her auriferous wealth in these districts. If the words explain nothing, they may at least suggest that quartz-mining in these parts is rather a fickle game—as much so, perhaps, as mining in general is found to be elsewhere; so that, as the report in question states, its prospects may be aptly summed up in the sentence of Joe Odgers, a famous old English miner, of forty years' diversified practice. "My experience," says Joe, "is this here—where there's ore, there's ore; and where there's none, there's none."

Basaltic beds in drifts.

Let us glance again at the auriferous drifts. They are the vast accumulation of the wear and tear of those gold-conditioned silurian rocks and their quartz and granite adjuncts during almost countless years under the grand pestle of nature. These drifts bear within them some striking evidence of the protracted history they represent. They furnish the remains of extinct animals and plants. But, perhaps, the most interesting feature is the successive basaltic layers that are frequently found to separate upper from lower series of the drifts. They form, indeed, a costly and tedious obstacle to the miner in his efforts to reach the very lowest drift. These great rockbeds, which, when first encountered by the miner, presented all the hardness but without the characteristic promise of the quartz, were regarded as a serious impediment, and once and again they were left unpierced. But, ever as he was beaten off, the miner returned with fresh courage, and re-attacked the enemy with an undying faith in the

mysterious virtues of a deep incision. He "bottoms" the basalt at last, after fifty or even a hundred feet of incessant pounding and blasting, and, with joy and hope, encounters again the familiar drift. Frequent repetition of this experience has at length rendered the basalt almost as inspiring as the quartz. But the most curious part of the experience is, that not merely one great floor of basalt is thus met with and passed through, but several. There is a second, and even a third, successively, in the downward course of one and the same shaft.

The "lead" and the "gutter."

The cost of this work is enormous, but as we have remarked, the lowest drift repays all. For this successful result, however, it is necessary to strike "the lead." What is the lead, and what its glittering "gutter"? "A lead," Mr. Smythe tells us,* "is a depression on the denuded surface of the schist rocks." We may look upon it as one of the valleys or hollows of the country's ancient surface, and we can suppose that the auriferous drifts immediately over it are the *débris* of the uppermost and richest parts of the gold-bearing rocks. The miner of to-day pushes on to this lowest "bottom," because he has found from experience that it is rich beyond all comparison with higher levels. But his main difficulty is to find its course or lead; and as the present surface, which is hundreds of feet above, has no corresponding contour, he must grope and "drive" below as he best may. In the lead he will generally find very rich material, and he may or may not, in addition, come upon "the gutter," with gold by the handful. The lower basaltic beds may have occasionally filled up depressions in the earlier drifts, when they still retained at their early day some conformity

* "Victoria Exhibition Essays," etc., p. 79.

with the underlying leads; and the miner may thus have some practical reason for increasing his hopes of gold with the thickness of those basaltic obstructions.*

Whence the basaltic beds.

But what is the teaching of these successive basaltic beds? They are, in truth, nothing less than the volcanic eruptions, the active physical life, of long-past ages; the work of the Etnas and Heclas of an ancient Australia. Nor are we left here to ordinary geological inference only; for beneath these once fiery flowing masses, which now oppose their cold solidity to the miner, are ever and again disinterred the charred remains of the vegetation of that former surface of the country, which these lava torrents overran and destroyed.

Who discovered the gold?

There remains one further observation on the gold question at this place. Who discovered the Australian gold-fields? This distinction has been mainly awarded to Mr. Hargreaves. The award implies a decided difference as to merit or usefulness between discovering

Hargreaves.

* Mr. Smythe gives sections of several shafts, from which we select two, illustrating respectively the basalt and the non-basalt intermixture:—

White Horse Land, Ballarat.

	FEET.
Surface soil	2
Basalt, clay and soil ...	10
Basalt	54
Clay	37
Basalt	79
Clay	46
Basalt	45
Black clay	12
Brown clay	16
Drift and gravel	7
Wash dirt	11
Total depth	319

Indigo Main Land, Beechworth District.

	FEET.
Red and white clays ...	30
Gravel	30
Red and brown clay ...	40
Red sand and drift... ...	20
Red gravelly clay	5
Gravel	4
Wash dirt	½
Total depth	129½

gold, and giving to the world a workable or remunerative gold-field. In 1841, ten years before Hargreaves,
Clarke. the Rev. W. B. Clarke, of New South Wales, exhibited to various colonists specimens of gold-bearing quartz collected by himself, and he confidently, at the same time, gave it as his opinion that gold would be abundantly found in the colony.* He afterwards stated that it was by his published statements that Hargreaves was guided to the places where he had found the gold.

Strzelecki. Count Strzelecki again, two years earlier than Clarke, had discovered gold in the eastern Australian range, and had mentioned the fact to friends, including the colonial governor. At the governor's request, however, he did not publish the information, and the Rev. Mr. Clarke appears to have had a hint to the same effect (although not so strictly obeyed), "for fear of the consequences," in a country filled with many thousands of convicts.†

Count Strzelecki, however, although silent on the subject in his publication, and probably, like others afterwards, deeming it of little practical moment,

* Flanagan's "New South Wales," vol. ii. p. 277. Therry's "Reminiscences of New South Wales," p. 364. Mr. Justice Therry, in his interesting volume, gives many guiding data on the question, himself personally associated with some of them. The magnitude the subject has assumed gives of course an eager rivalry to all those fortunate individuals who, whether from science or from accident, had anything to do with the first discovery. An edifying little episode on the subject floats over to us lately from New Zealand. When the commotion upon the gold discovery there had attracted the natives' attention, it appeared that they had been aware of the existence of the metal in the country. One of them had found a large piece, and thrown it away again. He described it as being like a potatoe. If it had been really a potatoe, he would doubtless have treated it differently.

† Therry, pp. 365, 366.

brought to England specimens of the rocks of the Australian range, and from these specimens science was enabled to pronounce an opinion that may be considered to amount, in fact, to the first properly published intimation of the Australian gold-fields. In the year 1844, Sir R. I. Murchison, in addressing the Royal Geographical Society, stated that from these specimens, which had been placed in his hands, the Australian range possessed all the auriferous indications of the well-known gold-field of the Ural of Russia, notwithstanding, as he further remarked, that "no gold had yet been detected." He was ignorant at that time, and for three years afterwards, of the fact of any Australian gold having been actually discovered. During subsequent years Sir Roderick repeatedly endeavoured to direct the attention both of the Government and public to the assured existence of gold mines in Australia. Murchison.

Although these efforts were unsuccessful in their main object, they were not altogether unnoticed at the time, as one instance of Victoria's gold-mining history may illustrate. In the year 1849, a Mr. Phillips intimated to Mr. La Trobe, the superintendent of the Port Phillip district, that he had discovered gold in the quartz of the Pyrenees. He claimed a recognition of his services, and was anxious that the Government should aid his further researches; but he met with no success, and for two years more the gold question slumbered in Australia. There are, however, some other points of interest connected with Phillips. He had arrived in South Australia in the year 1847, in connection with a copper mining company. Here he found time to examine the country, and not only found gold in that colony, but ascertained that the auriferous indications extended over many square miles. But the circum- Phillips' case.

stance of most interest is, that his attention had been called to the subject of Australian gold-fields by the statements put forward some years before by Sir Roderick Murchison. In fact, Phillips communicated his discovery to Sir Roderick, as the very gratifying confirmation of the latter's anticipations; while Sir Roderick, in turn, alluded to the circumstance in a letter to Sir Charles Hotham, the Governor of Victoria, on behalf of Phillips, who was one of many claimants for the public reward which the colony had resolved to bestow upon those who were proved to be concerned in the first discovery.

Practical effects due to Hargreaves.

After seven years interval from the date of Sir R. Murchison's first public and scientific intimation, Mr. Hargreaves, who had then just returned to New South Wales from California, and had observed certain physical resemblances between the two countries, made his celebrated discovery near Bathurst; or shall we say rather, he proved the truth of Sir Roderick's predictions by finding the gold in the neighbourhood of that very Australian range whence Count Strzelecki had brought the specimens?

On the occasion of asking from the New South Wales Legislature a substantial reward for Hargreaves, Mr. Deas Thomson, the colonial secretary, remarked that he was not the first discoverer of Australia's gold, but "his cradle had emerged a golden baby," and his announcement had called immediately into being all the diggings and their results. Hargreaves, indeed, journeyed in person to the gold-field, and then and there, with his tin dish, in approved Californian fashion, washed the gold from the soil, and showed it to the colonists. The effect was electrical. All Australia was at once aroused, and the gold-fields became simulta-

neously a great fact, and the greatest of Australian vocations. They continue such to this day, and give promise of continuance for ages to come.

Claims of science overlooked.

The respective Governments of New South Wales and Victoria have appreciated the importance of the event, and have awarded pecuniary acknowledgments to those who were locally concerned with it, the chief share falling properly to Hargreaves. So far for the local and the practical. But there has never been a public recognition of the part taken in the business by Science—of the foreground she occupied by the aid of eyes which are independent of distance and of local inspection. Is not her forefront position in the question a matter that concerns the whole world of mind?

CHAPTER XVI.

AUSTRALIAN GOLD-MINING, AND THE GOLD EXPORT.

Comparatively poor results of gold mining—Early modes and later improvements—Two kinds of mining—Alluvial mining, the earliest, and still the most followed; puddling and deep sinking; Ballarat; the lowest drifts richest—Quartz mining; Bendigo—"The Lead," and miners hunt after it—Small average yield of quartz—Vast auriferous area—Yield of gold decreasing in Victoria—Gold trade to Britain—Purity of the gold—Silver alloy in N. S. Wales—Ballarat gold—Nuggets: Mr. Birkmyre's list; two-thirds from Victoria; the Russian nugget; far surpassed by several from Victoria; the welcome nugget, etc.; N. S. Wales nuggets; "the cwt. of gold"—The world's gold supply; old sources; correction of data as to new sources—Supply of silver; table showing supply since Californian era.

Attractions and hardships of gold-mining.

AFTER twelve years' experience of its hardships and uncertainties, gold-mining is still the great and prominent interest of Victoria. The first attractions of novelty and excitement have long passed away, and along with them a considerable proportion of the first miscellaneous crowd of gold diggers; but there are still nearly one hundred thousand persons upon the gold-fields actually engaged in mining, who are exclusive of a somewhat larger number comprised within the officially proclaimed gold-field districts, and variously occupied in other than mining pursuits in the gold-fields' towns and their vicinities. These actual miners raise annually between six and seven millions

sterling of gold—a result that affords an average to all ranks and relationships, the employer and the employed, of little more than £70 per head.

This average result has fallen from that of £233 per head, which forms the culminating attainment of the year 1852, when the gold production in Victoria was relatively at its highest. And yet, considering the dearness of every requisite in the earlier year, as compared with the present time, with its facilities of roads and railways and large gold-fields, towns, and markets, the larger sum was probably, in its day, no greater power in the miner's hand than the smaller sum is now. But the wonder is that either amount should prove a sufficient inducement to retain such large proportions of the population in the most toilsome, exposed, and uncomfortable of colonial vocations. This average remuneration, low as it is, has not, to the mass of the miners, the advantage of even a tolerably equal distribution. Although the mining business is now much more regular in its results than formerly, still there is much inequality; and even if it were otherwise, this average is materially a less remuneration than that of perhaps any other colonial employment.

Poor average results.

We must suppose there is still some surviving excitement for human nature in digging for gold. Great prizes are ever possible although rare. Most of those who still adhere to their hard calling are now well accustomed to mining life, and may be supposed to possess physical constitutions agreeing with it. And probably there yet lingers a potent attraction in the independent position of a miner. Who knows better than he the enjoyment of being one's own master? Roughly was he wont, in past years, to

Miners' love of independence.

taunt a tame-spirited brother who took the sure but servile pound per day of wages from a capitalist employer, instead of the precarious ten shillings earned in the cherished independence of "individual mining." To those of this frame of mind the gold-fields ever resembled a vast establishment of piece work, with Nature as the general master or employer, an employer as between whom and the numerous employed there were no strikes, or controversies, or jealousies.

Early prejudices.

This sort of feeling ran very high upon the gold-fields in the earlier years, and caused much jealous opposition to the inroad of capital and machinery, as noticed and commented on by the Gold-fields Inquiry Commission of 1854. The miners disliked these rapacious intruders, which ever symbolized employed rather than free labour, and a system by which the bulk of profits went to idle capitalists rather than to working miners. Some even asserted their fears that the miners would be ruined by a multitude of employers, all bent on the one object of beating down the rates of wages. But so many employers, whatever they were otherwise bent upon, must have the labouring hands they were in quest of, and to this end they must bid up until they got them. In this way the employed labourer long found a ready market, with a rate of wages far above the general mining average—a circumstance which reduces that average, and still further exposes the poverty of the cherished independent mining.

"Individual mining."

But this latter mode of mining was necessarily the only mode at the first. It subsequently acquired the name of "individual mining," to distinguish it from the joint-stock company principle. There was in the former a ready partnership of two or three persons

who, rejoicing in the simplicity of their arrangements, were fain to free themselves alike from the complications and literary difficulties of written documents, and above all, from the dreaded intervention of lawyers. One of the party rocked the cradle or puddled the tub, another brought the material, and a third cooked the food and kept the common tent.

Later mining developments.

All this has well nigh passed away. It has been starved out by the diminished yield of the gold-fields, and its votaries, in spite of their tenacity, have been coerced by the strain of circumstances into the use of better appliances, as well as into larger and more systematic associations, where, as partners or as servants, they enjoy the evident benefits of capital and machinery, and the guidance of science and experience. The gold-fields are now well covered by machinery and mining plant, the total value of which has reached above a million and a half sterling, while many leases of auriferous land have been lately taken, with the stated intention on the part of the lessees of expending about an equal amount in addition for mining purposes.

Capital and machinery.

The first Gold-fields' Inquiry Commission of 1854-5 has lately been succeeded by another, whose elaborate Report, drawn up after extensive inquiry, has been published only in August last (1863). One great object of this last Commission has been to facilitate still further the introduction of capital into the gold-fields, and to accomplish this chiefly by giving all possible freedom and security to the capitalist. The reforms and changes introduced by the first Commission required readjustment. Machinery and co-operation were everywhere dominant, and long leases of auriferous ground, together with a considerable area, particularly

for quartz-crushing purposes, were requisite as inducements for capital. Gold-mining in Victoria is now universally a vigorous war of science and experience, of capital and skill, unitedly marshalled against a diminishing productiveness. The gold-fields thus resemble the varying fertility of a country's arable soils. The richest are ever the first taken up, and they yield a fair result under a comparatively easy exertion. The great battle is with the poorer soils, which, when their time to be turned to account arrives, require all the aids of science and art to draw from them a profitable crop.

Two kinds of mining.

There are two great divisions in the business of gold-mining, and they are essentially distinct from each other. In the concise familiar language of mining, the one is "Alluvial mining," the other "Quartz mining." The one mode is by washing the *débris* of the old rocks—the wear and tear of preceding time; the other consists in going direct to the solid rock itself, in order to pound it down by mechanical appliances, and thus extract the gold. The alluvial miner avails himself of Nature's operations, which, in her own slow but sure fashion, have been wearing down the gold-bearing rocks during countless previous years; and one might therefore suppose, at first thought, that he had thus a decided advantage over the quartz miner. But as Nature has been a most indiscriminate agent, having had not the slightest bias towards the auriferous more than any other rocks, but having pounded all alike in her vast laboratory, the quantity of chaff to the wheat in these pulverized or gravelly heaps is proportionally immense. We can therefore understand how, by a careful selection of the most auriferous rocks, the balance of advantage to the miner may consist in doing the whole work for himself,

rather than in accepting, as a half-way aid, the mixed and miscellaneous handiwork of Nature.

The alluvial mining came the earliest into practice. It was for a time universal, and it is still extensively pursued, but with very improved mechanical appliances as compared with those of the first years of mining. The other mode is still more dependent on machinery, whose nice applications for the effectual pulverization of the very hard quartz and kindred auriferous rocks, and the complete separation of the precious metal, are not accomplished without time, experience, and capital. These aids, however, have been since given to the cause, and quartz-mining has in consequence very largely extended. The latest statement on this subject before us—namely, the "Victoria Mining Report," for April, 1863, shows that steam mechanical power is now largely used in both modes of mining, the larger proportion of that power being already on the side of quartz-mining. The number of miners engaged under this mode, however is, as might be expected, much smaller than in the alluvial mining, which is assisted also by other forms of machinery. The quartz-mining employs 15,499 hands, and is aided by 461 steam-engines, having unitedly 8157 horse-power; while the alluvial mining occupies 73,608 persons, assisted by 328 steam-engines of 5417 horse-power, together with upwards of 4000 "puddling machines," and nearly the same number of "sluice-boxes," besides smaller numbers of "whims," "long Toms," and other appliances of like grotesque appellations. We have thus a total of 89,107 actual miners. We may observe, by the way, that the great proportion of the Chinamen in the colony are engaged in alluvial mining. In April last, for instance, there were 21,596 so engaged, while

Alluvial, earliest and most followed.

but 158 were associated with quartz-mining. The total value of mining plant of all kinds for 1863, is given at £1,489,951, a value that appears to be steadily increasing each year.*

Puddling machines.

Alluvial mining, however, differs from quartz mining in not being mainly dependent on steam machinery. Much of it is still conducted by mere manual labour, but under appliances either new or much improved during the last ten years. Horse-power has also been largely introduced, and it is the great motive force of the puddling machine, that grand institution of the alluvial mining world. This machine rapidly supplanted the original cradle and tub; in fact it represents both upon a giant scale. The miner could readily apprehend that if an ordinary washing-tub of three or four feet diameter could be made to yield an ounce of gold per day, one of as many yards must, if equally well worked, yield proportionately more. The cradle arrangement was adapted to the gravel; while the tub was suited to the puddling of the finer *débris*, such as the "pipe-clay," and the other clay or "dirt" beds, which were much more frequent to the miner than pure gravel. Puddling by wholesale was therefore a subject of early attention. What was to limit the extent of a puddling machine? Was it impossible for even an entire gold-field to be converted into one vast wash tub, so as to secure by a simultaneous puddling the whole of its gold?

These sanguine views were early adopted. Already

* For 1861 the value was £1,411,012; for 1860, £1,299,303, etc. At 30th September, 1863, the value of the mining plant had advanced to £1,527,704. The number of miners had increased to 93,176, the increase being due, chiefly perhaps, to the return of many from New Zealand, during the severe winter season (June to September) of Otago and Southland.

at the time of the Gold-fields Inquiry Commission's visit at the end of 1854, puddling machines were counted by thousands, and the endless tide of their "sludge" was choking up the several streams that were wont to course pleasantly and usefully through the gold-fields, and was occasioning a loud call for some special and preventive legislation. Tubs of unheard-of dimensions began to be contemplated, and there were even projects of lifting bodily the entire beds from the surface down to "the rock," or bottom of the auriferous drifts, and transmitting the whole through the puddling machine. The Bendigo Water Works, which were started some years ago ostensibly to supply the considerable town of Sandhurst with an element even more necessary than gold, represented in reality a speculative movement, made during the height of the puddling mania, with a view to the construction of a vast and unprecedented puddling process. Possibly there was also at the time some prospect that a fair, permanent dividend might be derived from the use of the proposed water supply; but this remote bearing of the question was of little consequence compared with the prospect of countless dividends to be had almost at once by the simple process of washing the gold out of the material to be excavated from the proposed huge cistern before it was thrown away. No one was surprised, therefore, when one thousand per cent. premium was readily paid upon Bendigo Water Works shares. But expectations of this kind have not been at all realized, either in the puddling department or in gold-mining generally. In Stock Exchange phrase, Bendigoes went eventually to a heavy discount, and the puddling mania has passed away, in common with most other com-

Puddling by wholesale.

Bendigo water works.

motions tending to disturb quiet and regular gold-fields' industry.

Deep sinking. But where alluvial mining shows the most striking progress, as well as the most interesting features, is in the deep sinking system now so common upon the massive drifts of the chief gold-fields of Victoria. The poverty of the upper drifts had urged the miner to try the chances of lower depths. In the year 1856 he had pierced to two hundred and fifty feet; in 1863 it is five hundred feet, and still he has not passed beyond the great ocean of auriferous deposit. These lowest levels have generally proved by far the richest in gold. But to reach the precious metal at these increasing depths was growing as costly and laborious as coal-pit sinking in Britain. Combination and capital were wanted more and more at every step; and indeed both the one and the other had, by the necessities of the case, been made largely available, with legislative aid in respect to various copartnery facilities for bringing together the rich and the poor, to their mutual

Ballarat. advantage. Ballarat has been the great head-quarters of this advanced description of mining. The whole field resembles a spacious Stock Exchange, roofed in by the dome of heaven, where the half and quarter shares of the capitalist, the sixteenths and thirty-seconds of the working partner, circulate at a racing pace, and often with hourly changing value, as the latest rumours respecting the lead or the gutter floated up to the surface from some adjacent abyss; and where the *al fresco* character of the accommodations seems to whet the appetite for this lively commerce.

Lowest drift richest. There must indeed be a great harvest of gold to surmount these preliminary sinking expenses. Such a harvest is usually the result, expenses being reim-

bursed, and something more; but, at the same time, a "shicer" is always to be dreaded, and is no very infrequent conclusion to years of preceding toils and hopes. As much as four, and even five years may be consumed by a mining party in completing their shaft. Occasionally, in "driving" for the lead, more than one party will come upon the same object. A case of this kind occurred at Ballarat between two companies, named respectively the Round Tower and the Red Jacket, in which both claimed not only the same lead but the same gutter. The rival claims, coming for adjudication before the local Court of Mines, were settled by an award of the fruits to both parties in common. And fruits not unworthy of gathering they proved to be. The respective shafts, which were four hundred feet in depth, had been carried through three successive basaltic beds, and had occupied about four years in their completion, including horizontal "driving," in one case to the distance of one hundred and eighty-five feet, and in the other to four hundred and forty feet. The total expenses, including interest, amounted to £10,781 8*s.* 3*d.*, and the value of the gold to £31,971 13*s.* 4*d.*, leaving for dividend, £21,190 5*s.* 1*d.* The Waterloo Company, at the same place, was another instance even more remarkable for success. The preliminary works occupied two years and one month, at a total cost of £5824, while the value of the gold obtained was £27,000.* Of course success of this sort is not the general result, otherwise Ballarat would be a considerably greater world than it now is.

Instances of results.

In our chapter on squatting (xiii.) we took occasion to illustrate that all the public territory was open to the free range of the gold "prospector." But the

Hunting for "the lead."

* Mr. Smythe, in "Exhibition Catalogue Essays," pp. 80, 81.

general hunt for gold, keen though that may be as compared with more ordinary business, is as nothing to the intensity of the pursuit when the eager ears receive the intimation that someone has "struck the lead." The difference is, in fact, like fox-hunting with and without a trail—with and without the fox. Where the lead goes, everything and everybody irresistibly follow—and the rights to the lead, when, in its vagarious course, it meanders under surfaces that have passed into private ownership, are still one of the difficulties of the Government and one of the vexations of the miner. Leads have been repeatedly traced into private properties, whose owners, if sometimes unable to beat off the besetting crowd, have at any rate generally secured by arrangement a fair share of the spoil.

"The lead" into a township.

The wayward lead has even strayed into townships. Thus, on one occasion, a lead was traced into Maldon, whose bounds were invaded in the ardent chase, and shafts were sunk in the streets. Maldon is a municipality, no less, with a quarter of a million of rateable property; but these dignities were unavailing to stem the inroad. One asks where were Mayor and Corporation and Maldon's great civic sword, if she has one, to do battle on such an occasion for Maldon's honour? We may recall the Scottish novelist's account of the old proclivities towards "wrecking" in the northern parts of his country; not forgetting also a well-known story of a minister in these parts, who perceiving a sudden distraction of his congregation, and hearing or surmising that it had arisen from the news of a wreck in the neighbourhood, summarily closed the book and the sermon with these words—"My brethren, let's a' start fair," and suiting the action accordingly, was the first to reach the door. And so, if Maldon's mayor had been

sought for at this crisis, perhaps he was only to be found at the bottom of the lowest shaft, leading on his eager citizens, himself the busiest of them all in "driving" to the lead and the gutter.

Quartz mining; Bendigo.

As Ballarat excels in the art of alluvial mining, so Bendigo may take the van in that of quartz-mining. In this department, more even than in the other, are co-operation and capital, science and machinery, called in aid. The winding and water-pumping in the shaft, as well as the quartz-crushing, are all by steam machinery, and in the ardour and economy of business, the engines used, which are yearly of increasing power, work night and day, not uncommonly from Monday morning till Saturday evening, without even a moment's halt.

The Comet Company.

Let us glance at one of the larger of these quartz reef mining associations—the Comet Company of Bendigo, with its paid-up capital of £34,400.* The company leases an area of ten acres, through which eight reefs have been traced. Four of these reefs, all that have as yet been worked, have a thickness of from ten inches to two and a half feet, and the yield of gold varies between a proportion, per ton of quartz, as low as six dwts., and as high as several ounces. Less than an ounce per ton of stone seems to be the average; but the smallness of this result is partly compensated by the continuous supply of auriferous material. The main shaft, which is a bore of eight feet by four and a half feet "in the clear," and substantially slabbed throughout, is three hundred and thirty feet deep, and comprises four various levels where the reefs are cut into. The chief steam-engine, of thirty-five horse-

* See the "Australian News" (Melbourne illustrated newspaper) of 24th October, 1863.

power, winds and pumps this shaft, besides driving twenty stampers, capable of crushing two hundred and forty tons of quartz per week; the other engine, a "Donkey," performs minor duties at another shaft. The produce of this area, under the present company, whose operations commenced in January, 1861, has been, for three and a half years, above £16,000; but as the same ground had been worked by other parties some years previously, the total of gold extracted is estimated at £63,000.

Small average results.

The total produce, as we have seen, is very small, as compared with the number of the employed. The main reason is, that the proportionate quantity of the diffused gold, whether in the *débris* or in the solid quartz, is in reality very small. We read of a great nugget in one place; of a "pocket" in another place; and of "leads and gutters" elsewhere, sparkling with the precious metal; and of particular reefs and veins yielding many ounces of gold to the ton of stone. But these are all exceptionary features; and if they are frequent exceptions, so much the worse for the mass of the miners, as their actual average earnings—small enough we know them to be—are thus shown to be the more precarious and unequal. The Mining Report for 1861 gives the average result of the whole quartz crushing in the colony during that year, as far as accurate data could be obtained, and it is found to be less than one ounce of gold to the ton. It amounts exactly to 17 dwts. 2 grs., of an average taken from 350,409 tons of quartz. This result is far below the general expectation of the earlier years, and is such as at that time would not have been expected to prove remunerative.

Quartz averages.

And yet, with an increasing superiority of machi-

nery, there would seem to be no small promise even in this result. What chiefly gives success to the fixed buildings and machinery of the quartz crushing associations is the massive reef, that proves equally auriferous throughout, even although the proportion of gold be considerably less than that just alluded to. In this view of the case the field may be regarded as not only promising, but practically unlimited. The Report for 1861 states that there have been already traced in the colony 1217 reefs, known to be auriferous. A noble property, truly; for every one of these long irregular lines protruding above the surface, is probably but the smallest fraction of the length and the other proportions that are concealed below. But how are we to estimate the entire auriferous area of Victoria, which scientific observation assures us extends over many thousand square miles of the colony's surface? Mr. Selwyn estimates that the accessible and remunerative reefs and drifts may cover an area of twenty thousand square miles. This is exclusive of Gipps Land, whose quartz reefs, also numerous, were but little explored or worked till towards the end of 1863. The area as yet broken upon is not quite seven hundred square miles; and as to even this small proportionate space, with its great drift beds of five hundred feet and upwards in thickness, who may count the time that will be occupied, and the gold that will be excavated, ere it can be regarded as finally "worked out"? Some years ago a Committee of the Colonial Parliament on the gold-fields, alluded in their Report to an estimate that had been made of the whole quantity of gold contained in the areas of Victoria that were ascertained to be of auriferous character. The estimate attained to an amount as compared with which the present public debt of all the

Vast auriferous area.

Estimate of its gold.

states of Europe put together was hardly more than an ordinary yearly interest.

Poor realities.

It is somewhat sad to turn from the things that may be, to those comparatively sorry realities—the things that are; unless, indeed, the colonists can accept as consolation the idea that the brightness of the future may be enhanced by the dulness of the present. The gold produce of Victoria has persistently fallen off in quantity year by year, for seven years past, until in 1863 it promises to be little more than one half of what it was in 1856. The amount exported for that year was of the value of twelve millions sterling; for 1863, it is scarcely six and a half millions.* There has been a somewhat regular gradation of diminution; for the year 1863 will be £500,000 short of its predecessor; 1862 is nearly a million short of 1861; and that again is nearly three quarters of a million below 1860—and so on.

Decrease of Victorian gold.

Decrease of miners also.

No doubt the numbers of the actual miners have fallen off at the same time with the production of gold, and to the extent of nearly a compensating proportion, at least, in the last few years, so that we can infer the miners' average of remuneration to be but little affected for the worse. The number of actual miners for 1863

* Exclusive of the shipments of gold received from New Zealand and re-exported. The following are the shipments up to 21st December of each year, 1862 and 1863:—

1862	1,662,351 ozs.
1863	1,536,387 ozs.
Deficiency in 1863 . . .	125,964 ozs.

These quantities do not include the New Zealand gold, which for the above period of both years appears thus:—

1862	293,339 ozs.
1863	338,612 ozs.

is given as 89,107;* while for 1861 it was 100,463; for 1860, 108,562; and for 1859, 125,764. The average annual yield per miner in 1860 was 19 ozs. 17 dwts. 6 grs.; and in 1861, 19 ozs. 11 dwts. 6 grs.; or at the local market value, diminished by the colonial export duty, about £77 and £76 respectively.

Counter attractions to New Zealand.

Considering these rather poor practical results of gold-mining, a vocation which we have alluded to as the least remunerative in the colony, one is not surprised thus to find a gradual secession to other pursuits that have at once more amenities and more profit. The attractive accounts from the New Zealand gold-fields have also for the last two years drawn off considerable numbers from Victoria. The Otago province of that colony seems to enjoy the same experience as Victoria in finding an abundant gold production during the earlier years. The estimate of the yield there hitherto is about £200 yearly per working miner, a result nearly equal to that of the best days of Victorian mining.

New Zealand gold supply.

New Zealand arrives upon the scene with timely aid to restore the leeway elsewhere of Australian gold-mining. The quantity of gold contributed by that new mining region is estimated to be now at the rate of three millions sterling yearly, and there appears still a prospect of increased productiveness. On the other hand, there is diminution in the other great adjacent fields, Victoria and New South Wales. The latter colony had exhibited a remarkably steady increase for some years past, until the present year, 1863, in which there appears a large deficiency as compared with its predecessor, judging at least by the ascertained results of five-sixths of the latter year.† After advancing from

New South Wales decrease.

* See note to a preceding part of this Chapter, page 326.

† First ten months of year 1862, 528,766 ounces; 1863, 365,914 ounces.

about half a million yearly during 1851 and several succeeding years, to nearly two and a half millions in 1862, New South Wales gives the prospect of attaining to not quite two millions in 1863. And yet, this total Australasian contribution of nearly eleven millions worth of gold annually can never be regarded as any unimportant matter to the commercial world.

Gold trade nearly all with Britain.

Nearly the entire of this large yearly production is transmitted to this country. In general, the gold is sent direct to London or Liverpool by sailing ship or steamer, or occasionally by the overland mail route *viâ* Ceylon and Suez, and sometimes by way of the adjacent colonies. The only noticeable divergences from this general destination consist in shipments to India and China, which have amounted to about seven per cent. of the whole, while shipments to foreign states have amounted to a hardly appreciable fraction. Of the production of the first ten years of Australian gold-mining, amounting to about £110,000,000, there was sent to India, China, and Mauritius, the amount of £7,945,000; to foreign states only £288,000; and the whole remainder to this country.

Purity of the gold.

We may allude here briefly to the relative quality of the Victoria gold. While the richness of the colony's mines as to quantity is so remarkable, it is equally so as to the quality of the gold. It nearly approaches, in fact, to a state of perfect purity. Ballarat, which has proved the richest of gold-fields, has also been distinguished as yielding the purest gold. The Victorian gold is generally purer than that of New South Wales, while that of California is the least pure of any.

Silver alloy in New South Wales' gold.

The deteriorating component in the two latter cases is silver, a circumstance that at first threatened some obstacle to New South Wales in the recent arrange-

ment in 1863 for assimilating the coinage of the Sydney Mint to that of London. The silver originally combined with the gold being left in the Sydney sovereign, to serve towards the due proportion of alloy, instead of copper as used at home, the colonial had more intrinsic value than the home coin. On this account, as practical parties stated to the parliamentary committee of 1862, the colonial money would be constantly exported to the Continent, to be melted down for the sake of the silver. As this did not seem desirable, and New South Wales was therefore called upon to conform more precisely to the home alloy, it transpired that for want of adequate chemical appliances in the colony, the extraction of the silver would be attended with actual loss, and it is therefore allowed to remain.* The lighter hue of the Australian than of the home gold coin is a consequence of this silver.

Purity of Ballarat gold.

As is well known, the purity of gold, according to an old practice, is expressed by "carats," pure gold being conventionally put at 24 carats. Standard gold, namely, that of our sovereigns, is "22 carats fine," with 2 carats of alloy. The gold of Ballarat and of some other parts of Victoria is usually upwards of 23 carats fine, being often, in fact, purer, and intrinsically more valuable, weight for weight, as picked up in its native state out of the "dirt," than our gold money. The usual custom now is to melt the gold into bars, which are sold at so much per standard of 22 carats purity. The Ballarat gold, on the average, in the melting of "good samples," loses about one per cent., and after melting is found of the purity of $23{\cdot}2\frac{5}{8}$-$\frac{7}{8}$ carats. The gold of Amherst, Maryborough, and the Ovens is all of about an equal purity to that of Ballarat; that of

* Parliamentary Papers, 1863, No. 405, Sydney Mint.

Gipps' Land is the poorest, having generally a quality ranging between 20 and 21 carats. The quality of the gold as extracted by the quicksilver amalgams from the pounded quartz is very various, being as low sometimes as 17 carats, and as high as 23 carats, with loss in melting varying between a quarter per cent. and as much as 15 per cent.*

Nuggets.

Victoria's many nuggets.

Let us conclude our mining chapter with a short discourse on nuggets. The origin of this rough, uncombed-looking name is not agreed upon, but the abundant crop of the article in Victoria has now firmly fixed the name there and elsewhere. These lumps of solid gold, with which Victoria has so lately made us familiar, were previously very rare and prized phenomena of nature. But the large Victorian supply of late years has had the usual effect in causing a diminished estimation, and the consequence is that all Victorian nuggets, great and small, with very few exceptions, now find a methodical road to the mint.

Mr. Birkmyre's list.

Mr. Birkmyre, of the Melbourne Assay Office, has given us a list of all the ascertained nuggets of any notable dimensions. They had the name of "pepitas," a Spanish term, until California and Australia, far outrivalling all reminiscences of Mexico and Peru, thrust forward the name of their own making and maintaining. This list enumerates one hundred and fifty specimens derived from various parts of the world, and Victoria alone claims already two-thirds of the number, and a good deal more of the weight and value of that large array.

The earliest of these natural curiosities, as shown

* "Fairfax's Hand-Book of Australia," Melbourne, 1859; an inexhaustible repertory of colonial facts and affairs, embracing the other colonies, as well as Victoria.

in this record, was found in the year 1502, in Hayti, and weighed $46\frac{5}{12}$ pounds troy. Another lump was found in 1730, in Bolivia, of the weight of $55\frac{5}{12}$ pounds. But the grand world's wonder of its time was the mass from the Ural of Russia, found in the year 1842, and of the unprecedented weight of $96\frac{1}{2}$ pounds troy. This specimen is still preserved in the Museum of Mining Engineers at St. Petersburg. But this mass of solid gold has been far exceeded by more than one similar specimen from Victoria, whose largest nugget was nearly twice the weight of that of Russia, or 184 lb., 9 ozs., 6 dwts., while the degree of purity of the gold of this mass was as unprecedentedly remarkable as its size. California has been much less conspicuous in great masses of this kind than Victoria, the greatest yet recorded as found in that country having been of only $26\frac{4}{12}$ pounds weight, and standing as far down as No. 48 in Mr. Birkmyre's catalogue.

Great Russian nugget.

Far exceeded in Victoria.

Habit has now worn off the edge of wonder in Victoria, and even in this country, in regard to these golden masses. The case was otherwise, however, a few years ago. The first very remarkable nugget of Victoria was found at Bendigo, in the month of January, 1852, very shortly after that fertile gold-field had been discovered. This mass was known as the Dascomb nugget, and, as the author well recollects, excited a lively interest in the colony at the time. It was about the size of a man's foot, weighing $27\frac{8}{12}$ pounds, and was indeed a beautiful specimen of its kind, being all of pure bright gold, excepting a little "rust," and a few grains of quartz in several crevices. This was the largest specimen of the solid gold nugget hitherto found in the British empire, but no less than thirty-four of still larger dimensions have since been found in Victoria.

First Victorian nuggets.

In September of the same year one lump weighing $28\frac{4}{12}$ pounds was found at Bendigo also, and at a spot close to the site of the Dascomb. As this new nugget was the crowning mass of its time, it was purchased by the Colonial Legislature for presentation to the Queen. Only a month afterwards the same locality gave a third nugget of $47\frac{9}{12}$ pounds, which, as the new monster of the day, aroused great interest. The intelligence of the discovery passed the author on the road during a tour to the gold-fields in October, 1852. It was a dingy shapeless mass, whose attractions were all of the intrinsic and not the ostensible character.

The Sarah Sands nugget.

The next discovery which followed soon after placed Victoria at once above all competitors in the matter of nuggets. This was the Sarah Sands nugget, of $134\frac{11}{12}$ pounds, found on the 1st of January, 1853—a magnificent New Year's day gift, which enabled several of the party who found it to return home with a satisfactory competency, after a very brief stay in the colony. But this time Bendigo has given place to Ballarat, which has since made good its position as the greatest of the gold-fields—certainly of those of Australia, and probably those of the world.

The Blanche Barkly.

Dealing now with only the larger game, we come to another still larger mass, weighing $145\frac{4}{12}$ pounds, which was dug up at Kingower on the 27th of August, 1857. This unprecedented nugget was named, in honour of the governor of the colony, the Blanche Barkly, after His Excellency's daughter. The succeeding year, on the 11th June, brought the great

The Welcome.

eclipse of all preceding competitors, in the Welcome nugget, as already mentioned, of $184\frac{9}{12}$ pounds troy. Nothing since discovered has surpassed, or even nearly approached the Welcome. It was found also at Bal-

larat, at a depth of one hundred and eighty feet into the drift. The Welcome was permitted some brief career of existence before reaching that bourne of so many of its kind, the Royal Mint. It was first sold at Ballarat for £10,500, with the object of exhibiting it at Melbourne, at which place it was again disposed of for the home market, at the price of £9,325, or £4 4*s.* 11*d.* per ounce, and finally melted at London in November, 1859.

New South Wales' nuggets.

New South Wales has been comparatively unconspicuous in the nugget world, although alongside of Victoria. She took, however, an early precedence in this particular sphere by the discovery, only two months after the beginning of Australian gold-mining, of no less than 106 pounds weight of nearly pure gold, which was contained in a small mass of about three hundredweight of quartz. This discovery, which took place in the month of July, 1851, was made accidentally by an aboriginal native shepherd on the pastoral station of Dr. Kerr, situated about fifty miles to the north and west of Bathurst. This glittering mass was found to be broken or separated into three pieces, on which account, and from its being found imbedded more or less in solid quartz, some characteristics of the nugget were wanting. But viewing the substantials of the case, New South Wales occupied the van of the world as to gold masses for a period of eighteen months, until surpassed by Victoria with her Sarah Sands nugget. Only two other masses of very noticeable dimensions have since been found in New South Wales. One of these, which weighed $30\frac{6}{12}$ pounds, was found shortly after the time of the discovery at Dr. Kerr's station, and not far from the same place; the other, of the weight of $33\frac{4}{12}$ pounds, was found on the Snowy

"The cwt. of gold."

River gold-field in the month of October, 1860. The older colonists must all still recall the sensation produced in Australia by the discovery of the largest of these masses—the finding of "the hundred-weight of gold."

The World's Gold Supply.

Explanation of table.

In the following table, I have endeavoured to bring before the reader, at one glance, the comparative state of the gold supply of the world, distinguishing between the supply from old sources, and all that recent deluge of the precious metal with which California, only sixteen years ago, commenced the tide of a new commercial life. A few explanatory remarks upon the figures of the table are necessary.

Old sources.

There are different estimates of the amount of the yearly supply from "old sources." I have assumed it at eight millions sterling yearly, and have further assumed that the supply is uniform during each of these later years, although probably it is increasing with the improved gold-mining processes, as it has been doing since the beginning of the century, about which time the yearly amount, it is supposed, was only two millions. About one half of the supply from these old sources has come from Russia.

Causes of error.

In making the estimates for the Australian colonies, great care is necessary on several points. 1st. That all the gold that flows forth to the commercial world be actually reckoned, and not merely the recorded amount of the export at the different seaports. 2nd. That the gold sent from one colony to another, and thence re-exported to its final destination, as for instance, some years ago, from Victoria to New South Wales, and at present from New Zealand to both these colonies, be

not counted to the world twice over. 3rd. That the operation of the Sydney Mint be properly allowed for, the effect of that institution, for some years at first especially, having been to absorb for local coinage most of the New South Wales gold, besides a little of that of Victoria, and thereby leave to the former colony a very inadequate yearly export of "gold, the produce of the colony." The non-imperial character, held until lately by the Sydney coinage, gave it a value slightly less than Imperial money for purposes outside of its legal tender circuit, while both colonial and Imperial coinage were alike in legal value within that circuit. The Imperial money was therefore preferently used by the colonists for payments abroad, and thus the local mint acquired considerable business in replacing these abstractions from the stock of local metallic currency.

The Victoria data.

The official gold export record of Victoria is notoriously very incomplete, as being only that of the custom-houses at the seaports, without including the export that took place overland to South Australia and New South Wales during the first few years, and the still larger quantity that escaped from the colony without any kind of record. These irregularities in the record are limited almost exclusively to the years 1851—1853, and more particularly to the last half of the year 1852, which proved extraordinarily productive in Victoria, chiefly from the richness of the Bendigo "White Hills," the amount raised in the colony having been about that time estimated to be, during some months, as much as one hundred thousand ounces of gold per week, or at the rate of more than twenty million pounds a year. The Registrar-General of Victoria, several years ago, supplemented the Customs record as far as he could find any reliable data, and I have

adopted his amended figures for the Victoria column of the table. The yet further quantities of the exported Victoria gold during the years 1851—1853, I have derived from the estimates made at the time by Mr. Khull, gold-broker, Melbourne, which were made with care, and generally accepted as showing the probable facts of the case. This disputable quantity, however, I have put separately at the foot of the table, along with an amount intended to represent what may be due to California under like circumstances.

New South Wales data.

The New South Wales' column contains an estimate of the actual production, and not the export. The amount of the export, however, taking one year with another, may be supposed to equal that of the production. By and by, no doubt, the expansion of this colony, as well as of her sisters, may cause some little yearly absorption of the gold produce, in order to increase the local metallic currency. The Australian part of the table is based generally upon the estimates of the gold production and exportation made in the year 1860 for the International Statistical Congress by the Australian delegation to that body. These estimates were carefully prepared, and the author, as the delegate for Victoria, had the pleasure of assisting in the joint report.

World's supply of silver.

In calculating the effect of all this increase of gold upon the world's business and prices, the question is inseparably mixed up with the supply of silver. The stock of both metals in use in the world, at the date of California's appearance on the stage, is estimated by Mr. Newmarch at somewhat under two thousand millions sterling, and the yearly supply at between eight and nine millions, but with a subsequent increase at the year 1856 to about twelve millions yearly. The silver currency of France was estimated to have been,

prior to the Californian disturbance, of the enormous amount of £120,000,000, besides £14,000,000 of gold specie. But the late supplies of gold having had the effect of lowering the value of that metal below that of its legal relation to silver (both metals being legal tender), the gold has, as it were, been buying out the silver, because the latter has now more value in France as mere silver of commerce than as money.

COMPARATIVE TABLE, SHOWING THE PAST AND PRESENT SUPPLY OF GOLD TO THE WORLD AT AND SINCE THE TIME OF THE RECENT GREAT ADDITIONS. THE FIGURES REPRESENT MILLIONS STERLING AND DECIMALS.

Year.	California.	British Columbia.	Victoria.	N. S. Wales.	New Zealand.	Total of New Sources.	Old Sources.	General Total.
1848	·012	...	...	...	...	...	8·	8·
1849	1·	...	...	...	...	1·	8·	9·
1850	5·5	...	...	...	...	5·5	8·	13·5
1851	8·5	...	·6	·6	...	9·7	8·	17·7
1852	9·3	...	10·9	1·2	...	21·4	8·	29·4
1853	11·5	...	12·6	1·1	...	25·2	8·	33·2
1854	10·3	...	9·6	·5	...	20·4	8·	28·4
1855	8·6	...	11·2	·5	...	20·3	8·	28·3
1856	9·8	...	11·9	·6	...	22·3	8·	30·3
1857	9·7	...	11·	·7	...	21·4	8·	29·4
1858	9·5	...	10·1	1·1	·1	20·8	8·	28·8
1859	9·5	...	9·1	1·2	·1	19·9	8·	27·9
1860	8·5	...	8·6	1·4	·1	18·6	8·	26·6
1861	8·2	·5	7·9	1·6	·8	19·	8·	27·
1862	8·6	2·	6·9	2·4	1·6	21·5	8·	29·5
1863	8·8	2·5	6·4	1·7	2·9	22·3	8·	30·3
Other Australian colonies*	...	...	...	...	...	·4	...	·4
	127·3	5·	116·8	14·6	5·6	269·7	128·	397·7
Unrecorded exports	7·	...	6·8	...	...	13·8	...	13·8
	134·3	5·	123·6	14·6	5·6	283·5	128·	411·5

* Some gold has been of late gathered in Canada and Nova Scotia, but I have no account of the exact quantity.

CHAPTER XVII.

PROGRESS.—PART I.

The various subjects embraced in Chapters XVII. and XVIII.: 1. Exploration of the interior, and Victoria's co-operation—2. Navigation of the Murray, etc.; discovery; descent to the sea by Sturt; first navigated by Cadell; regular trade on Murray and Darling—3. Intercourse, Europe with Australia: Benefits of competition; Black Ball line; the Great Ship, etc.—4. Steam postal service: Progress and competition wanted here; Suez and Panama; New Zealand subsidizes Panama route—5. Defence of colonies; Imperial proposal on the subject; Australia's small military cost; New Zealand war expenses; present and proposed self-defensive arrangements.

Subject peculiarly colonial.

ONE may truly say of any work upon a thriving colony that it consists throughout of a sort of apotheosis of progress. Had we inherited ancient Roman ideas, the statues of the god Progress would have been conspicuous in every Australian market. We propose to dedicate, at all events, a portion of our volume specially to the honour of an idea so eminently colonial. We find that a variety of subjects, characteristically relating to colonial progress, may be conveniently grouped in this place. They are all connected with very recent incidents and attainments—the very van, as it were, of progress.

Subjects: Exploration of Australia.

These subjects will expand over two chapters. In the first, we begin with a passing allusion to the exploration of the interior of Australia, a cause in

which the colonies have of late been laudably energetic. We shall take next a subject of yearly increasing importance, namely, the navigation of the river Murray and its chief tributaries, a river system that forms by far the most important in the country. We shall then allude to the present facilities of intercourse between the Australian colonies and Britain, and the very extraordinary progress made within the last twelve years in respect to the number, dimensions, and qualities of the great fleet of shipping that now trade with these colonies. Australia and the outside world, especially our United Kingdom, are being yearly brought nearer to each other by the increasing speed, regularity, and frequency of the maritime intercourse. From this subject we glide easily into the somewhat contentious question of the steam postal service, in which these colonies have a tendency to pull in opposite directions, one section inclining to Suez, and the other to Panama. We conclude this chapter by explaining the position of a long vexed question, alike imperial and colonial, namely, that of the military defence of the colonies. The question may be assumed as now settled to mutual satisfaction by a recent imperial despatch, applicable to all these settlements, excepting New Zealand, with her serious and still reigning mishap of the Maori native war.

Interior navigation.

Maritime intercourse.

Postal service.

Military defence.

The second chapter will embrace five different subjects in connection with which the Australian colonies as to all, and Victoria in particular as to most of them, have been, within the last few years, prominently before the world. The first is the introduction of the camel and the alpaca. A troop of the former having been imported from India into Victoria, we have been since rendered familiar with some uses to

Camel and alpaca.

which these "ships of the desert" may be applied in their new home by the narrative of the expeditions across Australia by Burke and Wills, and McKinlay. The alpaca has now been imported into New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. The first of these colonies has already a flock of several hundred brought direct from South America, and Victoria, by the last accounts, is importing some hundreds more from the same country. When we consider that a few Merino sheep, imported into Sydney less than seventy years ago by Mr. Macarthur, are now represented by more than twenty-five millions of their species, a great and early future seems not impossible also to the alpaca and its wool.

The salmon.

This subject will be followed by one of quite a kindred character, namely, the efforts to introduce the salmon to the waters of the antipodes. These efforts have been as yet unsuccessful, notwithstanding that neither cost nor pains have been spared; but Mr. J. A. Youl, who has taken the subject in hand with a determination seldom given to amateur and gratuitous labours, must at length realize the exact reverse of the poet's notion, that

> "'Tis not in mortals to command success,
> But to deserve it."

We may hope that the good and fast ship "Norfolk," which has just sailed in charge of the latest renewed experiment, made this time with all the benefits of increased precautions and accumulated experience, is destined to solve the problem of the salmon ova. Again, these importations and efforts, successful and otherwise, form a kind of special acclimatization procedure, and may serve therefore to introduce us to the more general action in the same direction recently taken on the part

Acclimatization.

of Victoria and the adjacent colonies, under the effective origination and leadership of Mr. Edward Wilson.

Statistical Congress.

We shall in the next place consider Australia's presentment at the International Statistical Congress that met in London in the year 1860; being the first occasion of the kind on which our mother country appeared in conjunction with her diversified and imposing colonial family. Lastly, we must allude to a similar gathering, still more recent and more imposing, and at which Victoria earned high honours for the varied and excellent industrial products of her colonists, namely, the Great International Exhibition of 1862.

Great Exhibition.

Exploration of Interior.

Recent success.

Conspicuous among unexpected results of the past few years is the successful exploration of the unknown interior of Australia. The vast mysterious expanse that lay inside of the coast-fringing colonies, has been made familiar to us with almost tumultuous repetition. Certainly we are in the midst of an era that resolves to have nothing that is Australian unknown. Stuart, from the colony of South Australia, has led off this great and successful movement, and if it continue as vigorous for the next three years as it has done for the three last, there will remain nothing more of Australia to make known. Like the Macedonian hero of old, our Stuarts, McKinlays, and Landsboroughs must only sigh for another world to traverse, and another wilderness to conquer. A problem of old date has been solved, as the great southern continent has at length been traversed, and repeatedly traversed, from sea to sea.

Victoria's share.

Victoria is not lightly concerned in these triumphs, inasmuch as the first traverse of the great "through route," as Bradshaw might describe it, was accom-

plished by her own colonists, and by an expedition fitted out by her own people and Government. The success of Burke and Wills' expedition in its main purpose, and the sad termination, in the sacrifice of the lives of both leaders, have been of late so much before the public, that any further notice is unnecessary here. The author has lately elsewhere had occasion to review this and the other expeditions, which have been so recently and successfully conducted.* The Committee of the Royal Society of Victoria intimate, in a late publication, that these exploratory efforts had involved the considerable outlay of £26,140 subscribed in generous rivalry by both Government and public. This amount is exclusive of the cost of despatching the colony's Government steamer to the Gulf of Carpentaria in the same cause; and also of an outlay of £5000 in the importation of the camels, the greater number of which were sent on the expeditions.

Navigation of the Murray and its Tributaries.

Greatest Australian river system.

The Murray is the Mississippi of Australia. Like the monarch of North American rivers, whose greatest length is found in its tributary the Missouri, so the Murray attains its greatest elongation through its principal branch the Darling, by which, in a diagonal direction north-east and south-west, it traverses twelve degrees of latitude, a distance in a straight line of twelve hundred miles, or, by the river's windings, of nearly three thousand miles. But the great and permanent flow of water by the main arm is brought from the eastward, derived in common with large tributaries in that direction from the snow-clad Australian Alps.

* "Tracks of McKinlay across Australia," Introductory View, pp. 1—70.

The loftiest of Australian mountain-chains thus throws off from its flanks the greatest of the Australian rivers. The Darling, as compared with the Murray, is almost but a fitful torrent, and during dry seasons it may be crossed on foot near its point of junction with the main river. The Murray, with a permanent and noble stream, maintains ordinarily a width of from three hundred to seven hundred feet and upwards for the last fifteen hundred miles of its course.

The Murray discovered, 1824.

The first mention of this river comes from Hume and Hovell, who discovered it on their bold overland journey from the Sydney settlements to Port Phillip. On the 16th of November, 1824, as they tell us, they crossed a deep broad river which was named the Hume, and which afterwards proved to be the upper part of the Murray, which six years afterwards was so named, and at the same time explored in its lower waters by Capt. Sturt. This expedition of Sturt deserves to mark a great era in Australian history, whether measured by the unsurpassed courage and endurance displayed, or by its important consequences in laying open to knowledge and enterprise the greatest of Australian rivers, and in leading to the establishment of the prosperous colony of South Australia. In the year 1828, by the plan of following the course of the Macquarrie, Sturt was rewarded by the discovery of the Darling, and now in the succeeding year, for the chances of some further discovery, he committed himself to the Murrumbidgee.

Even at that time, so close as it seems upon our own day, when Stuart and others have been exploring Australia through and through almost at a gallop, much doubt and mystery surrounded the question of the ultimate course and final exit of the many streams that were known to flow westwards from the inner flanks of the

north and south dividing chain of New South Wales. Oxley, who so early as 1817, had traced the Lachlan into a vast swamp, the fitful result, as was afterwards ascertained, of a moist season, held the notion of a great inland sea; and he had persuaded both himself and many others, that no river could fall into the outer ocean between Cape Otway and Spencer Gulf. With a very infelicitous guess, he conceived the country thereabouts, south of 34° of latitude, as being "uninhabitable and useless for all purposes of civilized man."

Sturt descends it, 1830.

Sturt had doubted the correctness of Oxley's views, and great was the interest of the enthusiastic traveller, as he found himself floating in his little boat down the Murrumbidgee, with the near prospect of solving a great geographical problem of the day. Presently the party are between banks of reeds, where the channel has become narrow and the stream diversified with rapids. Hurried along, the boat is suddenly shot forth into the quiet expanse of a noble river in less than a minute after the approach to it had been perceived. The Murray, on which Sturt was now embarked, was three hundred feet wide at this place, with a current at the rate of two and a half miles an hour, and maintaining nearly the westerly course that the expedition had been previously in the main pursuing. The interest in the issue was now greatly increased, and without hesitation the leader followed the course of his new guide.

Passes the Darling.

Sturt rightly conjectured that a large tributary, which as they passed was seen flowing into the Murray from the north, must be the Darling, which he had so lately before met with at a higher part of its course. He found this river at its junction to be a hundred yards wide, and about twelve feet deep; and although

the season was the middle of summer, the banks were beautifully grassed, and interspersed with large trees. Five years afterwards, Sir Thomas Mitchell illustrated the fitful character of both Australian seasons and Australian rivers by recording that he crossed the Darling about the same place dry-shod. Below this tributary the Murray was found to expand to a breadth of from three hundred to four hundred yards, with a depth of twenty feet, even close to the shore.

Lake Alexandrina and the sea.

After many fatigues and repeated risks of attack from the natives, Sturt and his party emerged from the river upon the spacious and shallow expanse of the Lake Alexandrina, from whence they could descry the outer ocean, with its surf breaking over the bar that endangers and obstructs the navigation of the noble stream.

Reascends the Murray.

Sturt had thus penetrated far into a region which at that time was nearly as unknown to the world, and as remote from its civilization, as was America to Columbus. He looked over an empty waste, alike towards the east and the west, and the only mode of extrication was by retracing his steps through the long and weary way by which he had come. Once more were the oars run out, but this time it was to pull against the course of the great stream. After incredible hardships and fatigue, the exhausted and famished travellers contrived to return to their depôt. They had rowed their skiff upon the Murray for a period of seventy-seven days, and over a distance, by its windings, of two thousand miles.

Cadell from South Australia, 1853.

Such was the first navigation of the Murray, and it remained also the last for a period of twenty-three years, until, in 1853, Captain Cadell reappeared upon its stream supported by the mercantile enterprise of

the colonists of South Australia, and armed with appliances very superior to those of his predecessor. Since Sturt's visit, a new and busy world had come into existence over those plains of promise that he had reported as lying invitingly tenantless to the far west. To South Australia is due the re-inauguration of the Murray navigation, and this time at least no interval is permitted once more to interrupt the progress of enterprise. For several years South Australia retained a monopoly of the communications its colonists had created, and a regular trade was conducted by means of small steamers and barges. These craft were got successfully over the ocean bar, and they effected an ascent of the Murray as far as the town of Albany, or 1750 miles from the mouth by the river's course.

River navigation improved.

As often happens in such cases, this business did not prove very remunerative to those who had originated it. The navigation is now, however, likely to be conducted to greater advantage. Both New South Wales and Victoria are fully alive to the importance of the case, as it concerns them equally with South Australia. The river has been surveyed and cleared of "snags," and an examination of the mouth and its bar has shown that small vessels may enter with tolerable safety.

Regular trade on the Murray,

For eight years past the Murray has been regularly navigated as far as Albury, but during 1863 a small steamer, loaded at Melbourne with about 200 tons of merchandise, made a successful ascent considerably beyond Albury into the waters of the Upper Murray.

And the Darling.

The Darling also has been successfully navigated. In the course of the same year another steamer made an ascent of this river, attaining to the distance of 100 miles beyond Fort Bourke, whence it returned with a

cargo of the wools of Queensland, sent from the banks of the Warrego, for shipment at the remote seaport of Melbourne. Four years previously the Darling had been ascended even considerably higher by Randall, who, in a small and rather crazy steamer, reached as far as the Nammoy, or Peel River, a distance, by the river's windings, of no less than 1800 miles from the junction with the Murray.* Several steamers, indeed, now ply on the Darling, carrying up the stores required by the settlers, and returning with their wool, which is forwarded, for the most part, by the Melbourne and Murray Railway to Port Phillip. This commerce will derive increased facilities by the approaching completion of this line of railway, which is now open from Melbourne to Sandhurst, and is expected to reach the Murray towards the end of the present year, 1864. In the meantime the commerce of the Darling passes by overland carriage from Echuca on the Murray to Sandhurst. The Murray has been already partly cleared of snags and drift timber, and its navigation is about to be still further improved, as well as that of the Goulburn.

Chiefly with Victoria.

Intercourse with Australia.

The new Governor of Victoria, Sir Charles Darling, as we lately learned, had reached his destination from England in seventy-two days. The voyage was accomplished by a sailing vessel;† and as being that of Victoria's last Governor, it furnishes an instructive comparison with the six months or so that were consumed

"The voyage," now and formerly.

* Sir R. G. MacDonnell's Lecture on Australia, Dublin, 1863, p. 21.

† The "Sussex," belonging to Messrs. Wigram, which arrived at Port Phillip on the 9th September, 1863.

sixty years ago by the first similar dignitary, as he trudged more leisurely along, through almost unknown waters, to effect the earliest but abortive colonial settlement. Collins may or may not be regarded as the first Governor of Victoria, but there can be no doubt as to the change that has taken place in the condition of the colony's intercommunications since his time, whether we allude to steam power or to the general skill and success of navigation.

Rivalry on "the Australian line."

Great has been the pressure of competing rivalry in "the Australian line;" and to this spirit of competition for her large market Australia owes the noble specimens of ship-building with which her harbours have been familiar for the last dozen years, and the marvellous skill, expedition, and safety with which intercourse is maintained with Europe and the world generally. The Greens, Wigrams, Dunbars, the White Star, and the Black Ball, have severally put forth their strength to the race, and Australia may admit that the race has been well run.

Black Ball Company.

"The Black Ball Line," if we may thus technically personify a great mercantile interest, comprises in itself a naval history, and such a history as could hardly have been realized except in these days of expansive commerce and of Australian progress. The Black Ball fleet commences both the new era and its own existence under the stimulus imparted to this country by the Australian gold discoveries. The proprietors are a private copartnery of the usual kind, and, after twelve years, their fleet has expanded to eighty-six ships, with three hundred officers and three thousand seamen, and they can boast of having conveyed during that interval eighty-eight thousand passengers to the antipodes, without being amenable, through fault of their ships,

for the loss of a single life, and with the loss of but one vessel.*

Liverpool and the Australian trade.

Liverpool is the scene of this successful enterprise; and Liverpool's trade with Australia is correspondingly extended. Instead of a few vessels of from two to three hundred tons each, there is now a vast fleet, each member of which is of the dimensions of well nigh as many thousands. But more important still is the improved character of the navigation, which, with greatly accelerated speed, has proportionately reduced the vast space of one half the circuit of the globe that separates Britain from Australia. The original six months' voyage had indeed become obsolete before the Black Ball time. It had given place to the more endurable four months, while a three months' passage stood out as the exceptional feat of the period.

Quick despatch.

At this stage of the question, the Black Ball inaugurates the new era of maritime express, when the first of its great ships, the "Marco Polo," accomplishes the outward and return voyage between Liverpool and Melbourne, including, as the case did, a discharge and reload of cargo, within the unprecedentedly brief time of five months and twenty-one days. When the necessities of the Crimean war service, seven or eight years ago, had interrupted the steam postal service to Australia *via* Suez, the Black Ball Company accepted for the time the Australian postal service; and they did not hesitate to engage, under heavy penalties, to deliver the mails at Melbourne, by sailing vessels, within sixty-five days. The ship "James Baines," taking the first of these mails, delivered them on the sixty-fourth day.

The "Marco Polo."

The "James Baines."

* Mr. Baines' speech at Liverpool, 27th August, 1863, on the occasion of the launch of the screw steamer "Great Victoria," one of the members of the fleet.

A sister ship of the fleet had already accomplished the homeward voyage round Cape Horn, which is usually the more protracted of the two, within sixty-three days. Let us add, in justice to all parties concerned, that the ships which, by their quality of speed, dimensions, and economy of construction, achieved these results, were not of British build. The enterprise was British, but the ships were American.

What more in the future?

When progress and improvement come thus rapidly, and, as it were, unexpectedly upon us, we acquire a right, or at least a habit, of speculating largely upon the future. What may not another quietly inaugurated era do for us some day in still diminishing Ocean's dangers and Australia's distance? Hitherto we have been dealing only with sailing powers, so dependent on an element of proverbial uncertainty. But behind the sails there start up in brisk succession all the resources of steam. The latter can hardly yet have been developed in any relative degree to the former, so long as a sixty days' passage still lingers as a sort of maximum exploit in the direct voyage by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and upwards of fifty days by way of Gibraltar and Suez.

Is the "Great Eastern" for Australia?

The "Great Eastern," of many broken promises, was to have pleasantly transferred us by thousands at a time to Australian soil within thirty-five days. We began to dream of a month or so of sea-air, as it were, at the sea-side, in the small apartments of a huge hotel, which we entered in England and quitted in Australia, without being aware of much that was out of the usual in the interval, beyond a very stimulating change of air and scene. Is all of this pleasant reverie to continue an impossible attainment? Who may limit the fresh developments of Australian intercourse under such new and stirring circumstances, if the opportunities

were but offered? The huge ship seems to have at length tumbled to the ground helpless between all the stools that have been striving to keep her up. The inspiring Black Ball flag already waves over two large steamers; cannot it compass a third, and so launch the "Great Eastern," like the "Great Britain" and "Great Victoria," upon the Australian line?*

Steam Postal Service.

Progress demanded here.

Let us continue the subject of steam, a power that happily Australia now enjoys uninterruptedly for postal purposes, but not without a strong notion that a monthly mail delivery, and a four months' course of post are not quite the position in which she should longer allow her mail service to repose, in these fast days of competition and progress. The Peninsular and Oriental Company convey these monthly mails to and from Melbourne, a distance of about 11,400 miles either way, within a period of fifty-three days, or by the directer way of France, within forty-seven days, and, in consideration of a yearly subsidy of about £134,000, one half being payable by Australia, the other by the Imperial Government. This is a costly procedure, but the interests served have been correspondingly important, and they grow year by year. A further step is, therefore, now demanded, and shall it be a fortnightly Suez mail, an arrangement which the present

* The big ship is at last to be sold by auction. We can hardly wish her a fitter climax to all her past mishaps and indignities, than that, with a new sense to an old word, she be henceforth "black-ball'd."

18*th February*, 1864.—We are still in time to add that the ship was sold unreservedly on the 17th for only £25,000, to a new company specially formed on her account. This amount, together with some previous purchases by the company of the ship's preferent obligations, brought up the cost to £80,000.

contractors will undertake in consideration of the comparatively small additional subsidy of £50,000, or must there be a second mail by another route, thus accomplishing a fortnightly service by the way, alternately, of Suez and Panama?

A contentious subject.

There is more in this simple-looking question than meets the eye of that bland personage, the general reader. If you speak to a colonist on the subject, he is immediately in a state of excitement, and you may, perhaps, divine his particular colonial home, by the depth of his antipathy to Panama or his love or his hate for Suez. The Australasian settlements are of such vast expanse, that even the eastern section of them forms a square of some two thousand miles to a side. To this square there are at opposite sides a Panama and a Suez extremity, at which respectively the colonists turn their eyes eastward and westward, while yet both parties are directed to the common object of their parent country, in the interests of the absorbing postal question. This is one of the dilemmas of an antipodal situation, and Herodotus would have gladly added it to his case of the ancient southerly navigators who perplexed themselves and every one else of their day by describing the sun as on the north, when the rest of the known world saw him only to the south. On the extreme east of our square, the looks and cries are all towards Panama; on the west, towards Suez; while between either extreme the trumpet emits a less certain sound. In plainer terms, Suez has always counted upon the allegiance of Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania; while New Zealand always, and New South Wales and Queensland mostly, have wooed Panama. And now the rapid rise of New Zealand's importance during the last two years has thrown a substantial makeweight

into the Panama scale, which is likely to give the cast in New Zealand's favour to the hesitating beam.

Suez and Panama.

But Panama's claims are only for a supplementary or extension service. Suez possessed the undoubted superiorities that secured the first attention; for not only was there already an independent Indian postal communication available for Australia as far as Ceylon, but the whole direct distance by way of Suez was less than by way of Panama to New South Wales, and even to some parts of New Zealand. No part of our supposed square transgresses the easterly margin of the antipodal line, or even approaches from the westward within three degrees of that line. A straighter course, however, may be made from Europe to Sydney or New Zealand by way of Panama than by way of Suez, and this circumstance has brought the former line into the rival category of southern wants.*

* But the distance from England to Sydney *viâ* Panama, is still 12,580 miles, and compares unfavourably with the lesser distance of 11,823 miles, *viâ* Suez and Gibraltar. There is, besides, the advantage to the Suez route of the great shortening in distance, and still more in time, by the option of the route through France. On the other hand, Panama has the advantage of but two changes on the line, while Suez *viâ* Gibraltar has three, and *viâ* France no less than six changes. An established Indian line over two-thirds of Australia's Suez route is certainly an aid in diminishing the cost of the service by that route, but it is gained at the cost of uncertainty and delay in the meeting of the one service with the other. Fifty-three days *viâ* Gibraltar, and even the forty-seven days *viâ* Marseilles, are a long interval in these fast and busy times of the world to spend in reaching even to its antipodes, and suggest that the spur of competition, whose touch is so marvellous in everything, might be beneficial here. Now that New Zealand has actually engaged for a Panama postal service, we shall hope for some of the good things that competition brings to the general public. The Panama line, which is about one hundred and fifty miles shorter for New Zealand than that of Suez even by the most direct line (11,350 miles and

Suez *or* Panama.

Suez having been allowed the first step, Panama claims the second. To New Zealand, and perhaps even to New South Wales, a direct postal line by way of Panama is preferable to one by way of Suez, with the interruption and delay consequent on a termination at Melbourne. It is also more flattering towards certain of our common feelings or infirmities, that one's own colony, rather than any other, should enjoy the earliest and the latest of the postal course; and how much even this consideration goes for, an impartial spectator on the spot, if there be any such person, could readily tell us.

Panama a costly route.

But the Panama scheme is withal rather a costly piece of patriotism. The idea of traversing the vast Pacific, with its delicious climate, its usually tranquil waters, and the bright gems of its lovely island groups, carries us into the regions of fairy and romance. But steam-boat expenses and estimates of coal supply are the true bases of the question, and have but little to do with poetry. These prosaic considerations have rather damped the ardour of a steady old community like New South Wales, and this deterring effect has been latterly enhanced by the relative consideration due to New Zealand, whose rising commercial as well as its geographical position must now take away from its senior neighbour all hope of a direct Panama and Sydney route, or of any other arrangement than that of an outward and homeward call at New Zealand, an arrangement by which the latter takes the cream, as it were, of the whole case.

But again, if New Zealand thus weighs in the sys-

11,500 miles respectively), is unquestionably New Zealand's hope. If the more costly of the two, its advocates are fain to promise that it shall be at the least not less regular or expeditious than its rival,—at any rate, to those colonies of the group that look upon the Pacific.

tem, she is willing at least to pay according to her weight, and to take the cost and responsibility of the leadership that her position suggests. After battling in vain some months ago, in conjunction with New South Wales, to induce the Home Government to contribute £80,000 yearly towards a Panama steam line, on condition of a like aid from the colonies, New Zealand seems to have taken the subject into her own hands. We perceive from a recent intimation that her authorities have at length come to terms with a steam navigation company (the Intercolonial Royal mail) by guaranteeing a yearly subsidy of £76,000, in consideration of a postal service *viâ* Panama, which is expected to commence on 1st January, 1865. Undertaken by New Zealand.

This summary and independent way of settling a teasing and protracted question was the plan adopted by Victoria some years ago in regard to the present Suez service, in order to avoid causes of delay and difficulty between the Imperial Government and the colonies on the one hand, and between the colonies themselves on the other, who presented some points of mutual jealousy as to places of call, and the respective contributions. Victoria ended the Imperial difficulty by guaranteeing the whole of the colonial subsidy, trusting to a fair proportionate payment from the rest of the family. Nor has she been disappointed, and we hope New Zealand will be equally fortunate. In the meantime New South Wales has held aloof from a participation in the recent engagement, because the rate of speed engaged for was not considered equal to the wants and the fair expectations of the time. The colony's Government, however, is already authorized to appropriate £50,000 as a yearly contribution towards an efficient postal line *viâ* Panama. New South Wales' position.

The family group.

The rest of the family are apt to resent the high hand in the procedure of any one member. Each prompt and punctual mail, however, operates as a healing balm, and the family are gradually agreeing again. We from the quiet outside would say that mutual peace and goodwill were the supreme idea for our otherwise well-to-do Australian family. Practical and business Australia, however, holds the idea a little differently. She puts the postal question first, and the harmonies and other good things second. But whether first or second, so as both are secured, all parties may be satisfied.*

The Defence of Colonies.

A progress in this question.

In a chapter on progress, one may with reason devote a section to the subject of colonial military defence, more especially as that much-argued question, like things in general in Victoria and her sister colonies, is also making a progress. Indeed, we might presume that this question, long a vexed one as between empire and colony, has at length progressed to the satisfactory position of a final settlement, so far at least as regards the group of self-governed Australian colonies. We

* I may add here that the inestimable convenience of the Post-office Money Order system, which has been already extended to many of the colonies, is now in operation in most of those of Australasia. This system, at the time we write, brings into connection with all parts of Great Britain and Ireland the colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, West Australia, and New Zealand, in addition to various other colonies. The system commenced in Victoria on the 1st February, 1863. The charges are as follows:—For orders not above £2 the charge is 1*s.*; not above £5 it is 2*s.*; not above £7 it is 3*s.*; not above £10 it is 4*s.* Orders are not issued for larger sums. No less than forty towns of Victoria are authorized to issue these money orders.

can scarcely suppose that the fair and reasona ble terms offered in the late despatch of the Duke of Newcastle on the subject, dated 26th June, 1863, will be otherwise than cordially accepted by these communities. The despatch excepts for the present the special cases of New Zealand, with her costly and perplexing Maori war; and Tasmania and West Australia, with their transportation relations, past or present, to the mother country. These cases are to be considered by themselves. With regard to the others the proposition is, to appropriate for their special use a certain number of the Imperial troops, which are to be paid for by a fixed yearly sum proportioned to the force allotted to each colony.

Imperial proposal, 1863.

Let us examine the particulars of this important document. In the first place, the Imperial Government settles the difficulty of the naval, as distinguished from the military defence, in a way sufficiently favourable to the colonies. These colonies, states the despatch, situated in a large island, and in no danger from its aboriginal population, are happily but little exposed to great military necessities. The Imperial fleet may, therefore, take care of the defence of the colonies from foreign aggression; and this service may stand as the Imperial contribution to the general cause. It then goes on to state that the colonies, having now their own responsible Governments, should in other respects meet their defensive requirements alike as to internal and harbour defences, and the requisite military force. The Imperial Government, therefore, propose with the colonies' consent to allot to each a small military force in the following manner. To New South Wales, four companies, consisting of 359 officers and men; to Queensland, one company; to Victoria, five companies;

to South Australia, two companies; to Tasmania, three companies; making in all fifteen companies, and a total of 1327 men, including officers. The colonial payment is fixed at £40 per soldier of all ranks. If the wants of the colonies should not require even this small military force, the number may be reduced; but, on the other hand, should still larger numbers be demanded, the payment for such excess must be at the rate of £70 per head—a rate which represents about the actual cost of each soldier to the British Government. The despatch states that in justice to all other Imperial interests, the Government cannot become pledged to answer all or any such demands. The colony of South Australia has already favourably responded to the Imperial propositions; and at the same time, in appropriating the required amount for its share of military, makes the happy intimation that even the small force of two companies may be reduced by one half.

Imperial outlay in Colonial defence.

Australia, indeed, does not, as compared with other colonies and groups, draw very heavily upon the Imperial exchequer for military expenditure. We except, of course, New Zealand; it is not included in the term "Australia," but in the wider scope of "Australasia." The latest Imperial Estimates before us give a total of £3,620,256 as the current yearly colonial military expenditure. And even this large amount must prove short of the actual case, as the New Zealand war has latterly assumed much graver dimensions than were allowed for at the time of these estimates. But of the whole sum only the following small proportions appear against Australia, and even these amounts are yet to be reduced in most cases by some set-off in repayments made by the colonies: New South Wales and Queensland, £28,140; Victoria, £24,767; South Australia,

Australia's small part.

£6829; besides those cases that are now, or have been connected with the home transportation system, namely, West Australia, £29,368, and Tasmania, £30,214. The great proportion of the large total is absorbed by the military colonies of the Mediterranean, by Canada (£702,115), and others of the North American group, the West Indies, the Cape colony (£290,384) and Hong Kong, together with New Zealand.

New Zealand war costs.

For this latter colony the estimated amount is £347,269, whereas the war expenditure there is, by our last accounts, at the rate of not less than two millions yearly. The abilities of General Cameron, it may be hoped, will render such a rate of expenditure short-lived; otherwise the young colony, notwithstanding all its prosperity, and the resolution with which the colonists, both in purse and person, have faced their difficulties and dangers, will hardly be able to meet its war liability. The expectation lately intimated by the Home Government is that the colony should repay at least one half of the Imperial military outlay made on its account. But the colony is not justly chargeable with more of these expenses than it can conveniently bear, seeing that Imperial intervention has always from the first been exercised in "the native question," and has only been abandoned in favour of the colony's Government in consequence of this unfortunate war, and with an accompanying very plain admission of the unsatisfactory results of the past system.

Victoria's past contribution.

Victoria has taken rather the lead in Australia in meeting the military expense question, as was only her duty with such predominant resources since the era of her gold-mining. Indeed, with the first floodtide of wealth, when the public revenue rose tenfold almost at once, the colony agreed to pay the whole cost of the

comparatively small force assigned to it, besides awarding considerable allowances beyond Imperial pay, to both soldiers and officers, as an aid towards meeting the great expenses of living at the time in the colony. By and by, however, as these great revenues fell off, or were in urgent request for other objects, economical legislators objected to Victoria's solitary and profuse example; and eventually the practice fell into a system of allowances or repayments by the colony—a system that has continued for some years, and whose uncertainties it is the object of the Duke of Newcastle's late despatch to terminate.

Colonies' self-defences:

The duties of self-defence are indeed the fair accompaniment of those of self-government. The colonies do not seem disposed to shirk the one more than the other. Even Canada, although a little faint at first from financial difficulties, seems now advancing to the emergencies of her position. Her 25,000 volunteers are to be increased to 35,000, and the militia roll, which embraces 285,000, is expected to be increased to upwards of 350,000, including the colonists of ages between eighteen and forty-five years. Victoria, too, has not been inactive. Nine years ago, at the instance of the then Governor, the late Sir Charles Hotham, a step of an advanced kind was taken in the cause of self-defence. An armed steamer was ordered to be constructed in this country for the colony, and soon the smart little "Victoria," of eight guns, appeared on the Port Phillip waters. She has since been serviceable in promoting the cause of Australian discovery; and although, happily, she has never been required for any wars of the colony's own, the steamer has been available of late to render timely aid to the colonists of New Zealand. This latter colony also has just followed the example of

Canada.

Victoria.

A war steamer.

Victoria, by providing a small war steamer of her own. There is no little to say of Australian progress in the fact that this little war craft, with her two "turrets," as well as others of the newest suggestions, both home and transatlantic, has been constructed at Sydney. She is of forty-horse-power, with a draft of only from three to three and a half feet of water, and a capacity for conveying three to four hundred men. The two turrets on her deck are armed with twelve-pounder Armstrong guns, and the deck construction permits of all communication being cut off, when necessary, between those below and any enemy who may be in possession above. New Zealand war steamer.

The coast and harbour defences have been the subject of attention in each colony, more especially in New South Wales and Victoria. In the latter colony, Hobson's Bay, which gives the sea approach to Melbourne, is defended by seven batteries, mounting in all thirty-eight guns, of which twenty-one are sixty-eight pounders, the others thirty-two pounders. Last year (1863) £60,000 were placed on the estimates for the purchase in this country of an iron-plated vessel. The volunteer movement in Britain was promptly responded to at the antipodes, and a force of ten thousand of the Australian youth was organized throughout these colonies, of which force about four thousand formed Victoria's contingent. We are of late pleasantly familiar with these forces by their feats of mutual rivalry at rifle practice, the range of challenge embracing not merely adjacent colonies, but extending to the mother country.* Further defences of Victoria.

The colony has more lately taken a further step in

* The amount for military and naval defence set down in the Estimates for the year 1863-4 is £52,972; namely—ship of war, etc., £17,216; Imperial military, £9610; local military or volunteers, £26,146.

Proposed military force.

the direction of self-defence, the legislature having empowered the Government to raise and maintain a volunteer force under rules similar to those for militia, and to the extent of ten thousand men for purposes either naval or military. The volunteers, who are to receive pay during service, are to be liable, throughout such term of years as they might agree for, to serve in war or during other emergencies, and in case of desertion they are to be liable to the penalties of the Mutiny Act. Besides this description of force, the Government were authorized to engage others for paid naval and military services. The colonists were not slow to respond to the views and proposals of the authorities, for within a few months of the first invitations, above three thousand men had been enrolled in the new corps. At the same time the New Zealand Government have been applying, and with equal success, to the sister colonies for help in the terrible realities of the Maori warfare. Several thousand volunteers have already passed from New South Wales and Victoria across the intervening ocean into the field of battle. The eager spirit of commerce presented by our colonies is thus happily not incompatible with those personal dangers and sacrifices that are sometimes necessary in order to acquire and to maintain our common civilization.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PROGRESS.—PART II.

Subjects: 6. The camel and alpaca; camels introduced by Government, alpacas by private enterprise; Australia suitable to both —7. Efforts to introduce the salmon; three abortive attempts; the fourth now in course; Tasmania or New Zealand probably suitable, not Victoria—8. Acclimatization; Mr. Wilson's efforts; general attention to the subject—9. International Statistical Congress of 1860; Britain and the colonies there; Australia's joint report; statistical methods, and utility of Congress—10. Great International Exhibition of 1862; advance since previous Exhibition of 1851, particularly with the colonies; Australia on each occasion; Victoria's colonial pre-eminence at the second; New Zealand Exhibition.

The subject.

As stated in the beginning of our previous chapter, we shall, under this second head of our subject of Progress, allude to the various recent efforts in different departments of acclimatization. We connect with that wide modern term the endeavours to domesticate the camel and alpaca, and to fill the more southerly of the Australasian streams with salmon, as well as the exertions of Mr. Wilson in all that remaining diversified living world which he is labouring to transfer to the bright and joyous clime of Australia. The subject will conclude with a reference to the International Statistical Congress of the year 1860, and the Great International Industrial Exhibition that followed two years afterwards.

Introduction of the Camel and Alpaca.

The camel and the natives.

That the Australian aborigines are low in the human scale may be well illustrated by the fact that when they beheld for the first time a man on horseback, they were seized with the notion of the whole of the strange object being one animal; and, again, just as the first edge of their terror had been turned, there was a new alarm in seeing the wonderful creature divide itself into two by the dismounting of the rider. But the horse at last had become familiar far into the recesses of the Australian wilds, when a fresh consternation arose from the sudden inroad of the camel. Burke and Wills, and McKinlay, at the instance of their respective Governments of Victoria and South Australia, took with them a detachment of camels by way of experimenting on their qualities for Australian travel.

Camels imported by Victorian Government.

The Victoria Government had recently before imported from India a troop of these hardy vehicles of the desert. And well they supported their ancient and classic fame upon the new trial-ground. The bullock, Australia's mainstay in ordinary, is not to be compared, as the result proved, in utility and fitness for these great interior journeys with the camel. There is, however, a worthy competitor in the horse, and between these two noble aspirants the palm was alternately lost and won amid the diversified experiences of the route. Upon the whole, the camel seems to have done the best. His superiority appears, now in the light step with which he treads the familiar sand and stones of a burning desert, and the considerable load he still bravely bears up after a protracted ordeal of hunger and thirst, heat, and drought; or, again, it is in his lofty, towering back that in sudden emergencies of

flood preserves from destruction the stores and ammunition on which the lives of the party depend, or his contented resting at the journey's end, picking by your side at the sparse and unkindly herbage that the accidents of the way supply.

The camel on duty.

"The troop were sadly thinned by these exploratory trials of their merits. They went forth not either to conquer or to die, but to do both; for when other supplies of food failed during the long journey, the camels, as well as the other animals of the expedition, successively fell under the "jerking" knife of the hungry travellers. The remainder of the camels occupied for some time the Royal Park on the northwest boundary of Melbourne; but that situation being found rather exposed and too close to the sea, they have been transferred for the present to the dry and warm country of the Wimmera, where they appear to thrive as in a second native air.

The alpaca and its prospects.

Possibly in a future "express" of some kind that posts us across Australia, we may encounter long lines of camels passing with silent and steady step from far interior settlements, somewhat as our overland travellers experienced a few years ago between Cairo and Suez, and as they may witness still, I suppose, notwithstanding the unseemly intrusion of the railway upon the sacred and classic scene. But any importance that the camel may acquire in Australia is likely to be far exceeded by that of another of the recent importations by which the colonists study to extend our resources in that country. This is the alpaca and its several congeners of South America. Alpaca wool has gradually taken a position of importance in British trade,* a fact

* Rather, however, by its use for mixing with sheep's wool, than any great extent as to its quantity as yet. See Chapter xiii., the Home Wool Trade.

that has not seldom of late engaged the attention of our Australian wool-growers. They might reasonably speculate on the possibilities of a second great traffic arising collaterally with that already created by their sheep, when they reflected on the extensive interest now represented by the latter as developed from the very small flock imported into the colony in the year 1797 by Captain Macarthur.

First flock for Victoria.

Here was a good foundation for hope to build upon. But there was ever a difficulty in procuring the means for a start. Those South American governments to whose territories nature had restricted the alpaca family, seemed as indisposed to allow its benefits to descend upon the outer world, as a Japanese Daimio to permit the opposite arrangement of that outer world pushing in its tempting wares for the benefit and enjoyment of his own people. The opportunities however arrived at last. In the year 1858 a flock of about fifty llamas reached this country, where they became for a time one of the public sights, as with healthy appetite the strange-looking creatures cropped the grass in a field at Acton near London. They had been conveyed, at an incredible cost and trouble, overland from South America to New York, where an Australian colonist, happening to see them, bought the flock for a comparatively small sum from the disappointed proprietor, and brought over the animals for sale to England. About half the number had been sold, when the remainder were secured by Mr. Edward Wilson for transmission to Victoria. The purchase-money, £700, was raised by means of the subscriptions of himself and other colonists in this country, and the flock was despatched to the Victoria Government as a present for the colony. Arrived safely at their destination, they

already give ample promise that they will thrive in their new home. They divide, with other like objects, the cares of the lately established and useful Acclimatization Society of the colony.

Mr. Ledger's flock at Sydney.

But the distinction of introducing the first flock of these animals into Australia was not reserved for Victoria. While the llamas were still upon their outward passage, a ship had arrived at Sydney direct from South America, having on board a large and varied flock of alpacas and llamas, numbering no less than two hundred and eighty in all. This arrival, so opportune for Australian interests, somewhat eclipsed the lustre of the smaller Victorian importation. The flock comprised 46 male and 38 female alpacas of pure breed, 110 female llamas, one female and four male vicunas, besides others of various cross breeds. The colony is indebted for this very valuable importation to Mr. Charles Ledger, a gentleman who had spent twenty-two years in South America, in the localities inhabited by these animals, and who was therefore well acquainted with their habits, and the best modes of treating them. The New South Wales Government purchased the flock from Mr. Ledger, and thereafter appointed him to take charge of it.

Victoria and

Mr. Ledger had an opportunity in the year 1860 of examining the small flock that had been imported into Victoria the year before. The animals were in fine healthy condition, but they were all of a very coarse breed. With the object of correcting this defect, pure alpacas have been sent from the New South Wales flock, in order that by successive crossing the pure breed might be restored.

New South Wales suit the alpac=

The alpaca family Mr. Ledger describes as of a very hardy constitution, and very suitable to many parts of

Australia; the more so as he thinks they will be able to thrive in poor tracts of country that would be useless for other kinds of live stock. He found the districts of Yass and Manèro eminently suitable, while the country of the Snowy River reminded him of the home of the flock. There was in New South Wales a kind of grass named "ichu," on which they feed greedily. They can subsist on very small supplies of food, and are very independent of water, not requiring to drink more than once a week, and having been on one occasion during their march in South America twenty-two days successively without any. The older members of the flock are remarkably intelligent in preventing the younger ones from straying away, on which account, as well as from their gregarious habits, it is found that they can be very economically managed.*

Further importations.

One of the happy results of the success of Mr. Ledger's efforts to introduce the alpaca into Australia has been a disposition on the part of the South American Governments to dismiss the spirit of monopoly they have so long cultivated respecting this animal. We observe by late intelligence from Melbourne, that a flock of no less than five hundred and fifty is expected to arrive at that port.†

Efforts to Introduce the Salmon.

First abortive efforts.

The introduction of the salmon is one of the branches of acclimatization, but in this case the branch has preceded the parent stem, as there were attempts

* Flanagan's "New South Wales," vol. ii., App. C.

† The first batch of this flock arrived at Sydney from Tocopilla, in South America, on 4th September, 1863. They were 215 in number, the survivors of 600 that had been shipped. It was understood that 900 more were to be shipped.

to transport this noble fish long before acclimatization was heard of in Australia. The salmon is the monarch of fishes, in the sense of the table, and so desirable an addition to Australia's resources and enjoyments has been a subject before the colonists for at least a dozen years past. The first energetic movement for the introduction of the ova was on the part of Sir William Denison, the late Governor of Tasmania, who had ascertained that the southern rivers of that colony presented the conditions that were probably suitable for the existence of the salmon. In the year 1852, Sir William having collected the considerable amount of requisite funds, made the first experiment; but the ova all died during the outward voyage. Eight years elapsed ere the second experiment was attempted. The subject was this time in the hands of Mr. Youl, who had summoned Mr. Edward Wilson and other colonists, resident for the time in this country, to his assistance. But this experiment also, carried out at a cost of £620, raised by private subscription, proved a failure from the same cause as with the first.

Colonial governments co-operate.

The Southern Governments were now aroused to the importance of the subject, and a third attempt was soon organized, which was at their expense. The Tasmanian Legislature voted £3000 towards the object, and the Government proceeded to get ready suitable hatching and breeding grounds in the colony's noble river Derwent. Above one half of this sum was at once remitted to Mr. Youl for an immediate resumption of operations, while Victoria contributed £500 to the cause. But this third attempt, which was made in 1862, after most careful arrangements, including the superintendence, during the voyage, of a person of great experience, Mr. Ramsbottom, was also a failure.

The ship had made a most exceptionally protracted passage; the supply of ice, on which success mainly depended, had entirely melted away, and the ova had all expired before reaching their remote destination.

Fourth Trial.

But meanwhile experience has been accumulating under repeated failure, and the interest in the subject grows apace. The remainder of the Tasmanian appropriation, a further £500 from Victoria, and £200 lately received from Southland in New Zealand, which has encouragingly entered the field, are enough for yet another experiment. Of this fourth attempt there is a better hope. Actual experiment has shown that the ova can be perfectly preserved alive in ice for a time even considerably longer than is required for the voyage to the antipodes. Arriving towards winter in Tasmania, the ova will enter the southern rivers at a season when they present a cool and suitable temperature. The upper waters of the Derwent in the highland interior of that colony, expanding as they do into large and deep lakes, are probably low enough in temperature during the entire year; and the main question seems to be whether or not the southern ocean at and around the mouth of the Derwent retains the requisite coolness during the summer months. This point can be decided only by actual experience. Our much prized and sorely coveted fish, as is generally supposed, begins to feel himself uncomfortable when the ascending thermometer of hostile summer reaches 60°. As the mean yearly temperature of the island is only 53°, that of the ocean off the southern coasts cannot much, if at all, exceed 60° during even the height of summer.

Mr. Youl's method and precautions.

This last experiment is upon a noble scale, ninety thousand ova having been despatched. They were mostly procured from salmon taken from the Severn,

near Worcester. These fish comprised three females and two males, which, after being artificially manipulated, were returned to the stream, apparently none the worse for their important services. Mr. Youl writes on 21st January last,* that all are safely on board the ship "Norfolk," which was to sail on that day for Port Phillip, whence they would be transferred to Tasmania. The ova, resting on layers of wet moss, are carefully packed in many small boxes. Over these is piled a mass of ice nine feet in height, which serves the double purpose of keeping the chamber cool and sending a constant trickling of water through the perforated boxes. Messrs. Wigram, the owners of the "Norfolk," had aided the cause not merely by presenting gratuitously all the required space in the ship—and it amounted to fifty tons of measurement—but had even delayed the sailing of the "Norfolk" for a short time, as some days of severe frost had kept away all salmon that were in breeding condition. Mr. Youl remarks as to the sagacity of these fish, that the frost had evidently kept them back from ascending the rivers, as if they had apprehended that their spawning beds would be frozen, and unfit for breeding purposes. So methodically, in fact, do the salmon seem to have acted in these circumstances, that when the frost had ceased, the persons engaged, at different places, by Mr. Youl to bring the ova to him without delay, appear all to have obtained their supplies about the same time, as they arrived in London within a few hours of each other.

Tasmania or New Zealand suitable.

If there are any doubts as to the suitableness of the Tasmanian climate from its over warmth, the Southland and Otago gold-miners, who, to the cost of no small number of lives, braved the snows of last winter

* See his letter in the "Times" of 23rd January, 1864.

in their ardour for business, may assure us that there can be none as to the southern rivers and shores of New Zealand, where salmon may sport in a frigidity as enjoyable as in a Scotch highland loch, or a Norway fiord. The mountain chain of the middle island culminates in peaks that are but little lower than the loftiest of Europe, and present the permanently wintry aspect of perpetual snow. Mount Cook is thirteen thousand feet in elevation, and from the flanks of the chain descend the glaciers of Alpine scenery, one of which, named after Tasman, and an object to the passing ships on the western coast, is stated to be twelve miles long, and a mile and three-quarters in breadth. Most New Zealand rivers of the southern parts have too much the character of torrents to furnish suitable breeding grounds for the salmon. The river with its lake series of the south-west of the middle island, and falling into Martin's Bay, as lately explored by Dr. Hector, seems more promising than the other streams of that region of the colony; while in other respects the conditions of this part of New Zealand are probably quite suitable for the success of any future salmon experiment.

Victoria too warm.

The chief difficulty with regard to Victoria is the probable over warmth of the sea, and of the lower course of the rivers during summer. Our salmon, it is proved, must get to the sea if he is to be worth anything. He fidgets to escape in that direction when about two years old, and if unable to reach the salt water, he remains small and stunted, and practically good for nothing. Some few salmon of the Thames above London, which are shut out from the sea by the opaque and deadly mass of the city sewage, never grow large, or even get beyond the stage of a smolt. The upper

waters of the Snowy River of Gipps' Land, in Victoria, descending from the south-east flanks of the snow-clad Australian alps, might possibly suit the salmon throughout the year, and even some of those of the western slopes, as the Murray, the Mitta, and the Goulburn. But for these rivers the more suitable occupant might be the great salmon of the Danube. This fish has a disadvantage, as compared with the other, in being a voracious feeder. But, on the other hand, it grows more rapidly, attains larger dimensions, and is reputed to be equally good eating; and, above all, it can thrive continuously in fresh water.*

Acclimatization.

Many useful objects get saddled with an insufficient or unsuitable name. The word "acclimatization" is an instance of this sort. There is no compensation in our being aware, on the other hand, that the narrowest subjects will sometimes fasten upon the broadest names. There is, for instance, in this respect, as Mr. Mill deplores, the doleful fate of the word "undertaker," which seems irrevocably associated with "six feet by two" of the churchyard, instead of having its appropriate and much wanted use in far wider and more cheerful fields. Professor McCoy, in his late address to the Victoria Acclimatization Society, on the late occasion of its first annual meeting at Melbourne, reminds his audience that the word was not quite suitable or well chosen. Perhaps it conveys to our minds

Unsuitable name.

* If Mr. Frank Buckland succeeds in his present endeavour to obtain a hybrid from the "hen trout and cock salmon," or *vice versâ*, and with the hoped for characteristic of not requiring the sea water, both the upper Thames and the Victoria rivers may yet be stocked with salmon, or something else, perhaps, equally good. See his letter in the "Times" of 18th February, 1864.

the idea of some wrenching process, by which beasts, birds, and fish, are, for mere experiment or pastime, transferred from the suitable to the unsuitable climate. Quite in reverse to all this violence, as the Professor remarked, the object was to introduce into the colony every creature that was either useful or ornamental, and which, by the probable suitability of the climate of its new home, would live and thrive, and thus increase our comforts and resources.

Mr. Wilson's successful efforts.

The Victoria Society, itself but two years old, has a merit superior even to that of the exertions it has already made for the benefit of its own colony; for it has thus early, by its example, stimulated into existence similar societies in all the adjacent colonies. The society took its origin in the year 1861, from a previously existing Zoological Society in Melbourne, that had commenced in 1857. Mr. Edward Wilson succeeded in directing the society's attention to the more practical and useful objects connected with acclimatization. He was subsequently the means of establishing similar societies in New South Wales, South Australia and Tasmania, and the example has since still further extended. Nor have these and other like efforts been without effect in still higher quarters, as the Lords of the Admiralty have lately consented that ships of war, on shifting their stations, should occasionally convey animals for acclimatization purposes.

Acclimatization in Victoria.

The first annual meeting of the Victoria Society was held at Melbourne on the 24th of November, 1862, on which occasion, in the absence of Mr. Wilson, the President, addresses were delivered by the Colonial Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, and by Professor McCoy. Much interest was felt in the colony at the time in a troop of camels which had been imported from India

about three years before by the Colonial Government. Sir Henry Barkly stated that the Royal Park to the north of Melbourne, to which these animals had at first been consigned, had not proved suitable to them, the air being too chill in such a near vicinity to the sea; but that on their removal to the Wimmera district, where Mr. Samuel Wilson had accommodated them with an enclosed paddock upon his sheep station, they had quickly recovered, and were feeding with zest upon the natural bushes.

Expected results.

The society is already one of the world's facts. It dispenses far and wide its marsupial mammals, emus, black swans, and black parrots, and claims a return of favours. We observe some late reciprocities with the French Government, which has presented its young and aspiring correspondent with a pair of Yaks and several Angora goats; while, in the agreeable reciprocities of its vocation, the society was, by the last accounts from Melbourne, engaged in selecting a troop of kangaroo for Prince Napoleon.

The society publishes a long list of rewards for the first importations of well-known and useful members of the animal world of this country and of Europe, from hares and pheasants, to fish, lobsters, and crabs. The Australian larder is thus rapidly losing the thin aspect it once wore, when dependent only on its own indigenous contributions. Beef and mutton have long ousted kangaroo from the table, and parrot pies have no attractions compared to pigeons and poultry. Nor are Australian fish, in their way, much more presentable. Even the Murray cod makes no approach to fish of the northern seas—to the true cod, the haddock, the sole, the turbot, or the salmon. We are promised for Australia an early revel in all these luxuries, to assist,

with many other results of industry and civilization, in recreating at the Antipodes that Britain which the colonists have not forgotten, although they have left it so far behind them.

The International Statistical Congress of 1860.

Our empire at the Congress.

The great International Statistical gathering to which we have alluded was the fourth occasion of the Congress meeting, and took place in London in July, 1860. A fifth meeting has since been assembled in 1863 at Berlin, where, however, Australia was not represented. Perhaps the busy colonies deemed this last meeting too quick a return of subjects of somewhat remote bearing, as compared with the many of immediate urgency ever on their hands. But the meeting in London, the centre of their common empire, and indeed of the world's commerce, had special claims and attractions. The Imperial parent summoned the Provincial family to her side, and its various members far and wide over the earth promptly obeyed the call.

Colonial delegates, where placed.

What was the position to be allowed to the colonial delegates? Were they to be merged undistinguishably in the home ranks, or to be placed with the foreign visitors, and so swell the list of the guests of the occasion? The latter position was that to which they were definitively adjudged. They acquired the position and its honours in consideration of the fact, that they represented respectively a distinctive government administration, and in most of the chief instances a system of independent self-government.

The business.

The delegates, duly crammed, and overflowing respectively with their statistical data, come up in lively and impatient succession to the scene. Most of them had in hand, each for his own locality, a tale of marvel-

lous progress, set off with all the eloquence of fact. Each counted over his many folios of tables and figures, and each was fain to claim from the committee a proportionate appropriation of the ear of the Congress. The dismayed Committee once and again reminded the rival multitude that statistical modes rather than the actual statistics—the class of facts observed and the forms in which they were recorded, rather than the facts themselves—were the main inquiry of the Congress, whose ultimate object was to produce uniformity of plan and contemporaneity of record throughout the civilized world.

Joint report of Australian delegates.

Vain, however, was the effort to implant in the practical mind of a colonist that the form could ever be equal to the substance. He felt that he must improve the occasion to impart knowledge and facts, and such an occasion too! But if each of these zealous representatives was undismayed at the bulk of his own portfolio, he awoke to some perception of the necessity of things as he cast an ominous glance over several dozens besides of the statistical treasuries of his fellow-delegates. When the Australian body declared that they would agree to draw up one common report, Dr. Farr and Mr. Hammack breathed again. The conjoint report was, accordingly, drawn up, after a circumscribing effort on every opportunity, under the vigorous exhortations to brevity; and of what was thus concisely put together, a selection of about a tenth part was read to the audience. Other reports were, of necessity, as summarily dealt with, but all were subsequently printed in full.

Arrangement and contents.

The Australian Report comprises three different subjects; first, the actual position of statistical systems in the colonies, the subjects embraced, and the mode of

setting them forth; second, irregular features in the Australian statistics, caused chiefly of late years by the great inflation and subsequent collapse in commercial and financial affairs, occasioned by the gold discoveries, the principal example being the colony of Victoria; third, a selection of facts and circumstances, illustrating generally the progress and peculiarities of the Australian colonies. This last part of the Report was subdivided upon the plan as laid down by preceding Congresses, and comprised—first, Population, and Vital Statistics; second, Judicial Subjects; third, Financial Statistics; fourth, Industrial Statistics; fifth, Public Instruction; sixth, Relations to the Natural Sciences. The last of these divisions, besides alluding to the Australian climate, gave a brief sketch of that rather contentious-looking question, or series of questions, namely, to whom is due the discovery of the Australian gold-fields, and the relative merits of claimants. The short paragraph of the Report recognizes Sir R. J. Murchison as having first in this country, and from purely scientific considerations, alluded to the Australian gold-mines. Sir Roderick had several times called public attention to their existence as demonstrated by science, the earliest occasion of his doing so being in 1844; thus preceding, by seven years, Hargreave's eventful intimation.

Colonial legislation peculiarities.

One part of the Report was made more than usually important and interesting from its illustration of points of divergence between the Colonial and Imperial Legislation. These divergencies, which are already, both in number and diversity, a considerable body of local colonial legislation, belong to the section of Judicial Statistics. The stock is being augmented each year. We have, for example, the New South Wales Act of 1862, legalizing a preferent lien on agricultural and

horticultural crops. This measure, as it were, supplements special and peculiar Acts long current in Australia to legalize the mortgaging of live stock, and the granting of preferent liens on wool from season to season. The Chinese Immigration Restriction Act of the same colony, passed at last, after much local difference of opinion, comes into operation only in 1863, and with the sanction of the Home Government. In South Australia, also, there is very lately the passing of a Colonial Act to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister, a subject thus disposed of by that colony, not for the first time, and in more favour there than at Imperial head-quarters, where the final validity to a measure of such social importance is not likely to be thus exceptionally accorded. These incidents of colonial legislation are of a subsequent date to the Congress Report, which, however, calls attention to various others. The subject is further traversed in our next chapter, entitled, "Government and Legislation."

Utility of the Congress.

The Australian colonies had need of some exhortation and example from the Congress, for in their statistical methods they had followed neither the mother country nor any common system with one another. The population census, in particular, was taken at quite different times, and at different successive intervals, by some of the colonies, as well as in different ways. There was agreement in many things, especially with the offshoot colonies, the juniors, Victoria and Queensland, for instance, adopting mostly the modes of the senior, New South Wales; but there was variation more or less in many more throughout the group. The import, export, and revenue tables furnished, with their endless detail, material for official ingenuity to present a bewildering maze to "the general student." The student

might in time master his case, so as at least to thread the statistical ways and byways of his own colony; but he has hardly, perhaps, felt this inspiring familiarity with the road ere the journey must be begun afresh by a change of system.

Australia's statistical methods.

Considerations and preparations connected with the Congress are useful to expose these imperfect and mutually differing systems; and they have since led to much more accordance in method among these colonies, as well as to that completeness of detail—as, for instance, in the vital statistics and the Census particulars—that has been attained in European countries generally. Uniformity as to both method and date is happily inaugurated in the year succeeding the Congress, on the occasion of the Census, which for the first time takes account, with but few exceptions, of the population and social condition of all parts of the empire. The laudable ambition of young colonies to be "up to the mark" with the old world opens a considerable field of work to their respective registrars. The Australian delegates' Report intimates, with regard to the statistics, that up to their time "the annual publication of each colony has swelled into a volume of from one hundred to two hundred pages." But such dimensions are now far from satisfying the wants of the case, and Victoria's Registrar-General presents already a yearly budget of nearly five hundred pages.

The Great International Exhibition of 1862.

Colonies' contributions.

The late grand international spectacle of 1862 recedes from us like a bright dream of fairy-land. Amidst all the gratifications and triumphs of the occasion, who had more reason to be satisfied than the colonist, as he witnessed the successful efforts of our

provinces, and the relative extent and importance of their contribution to the grand industrial gathering. One might, indeed, aver that, in glancing over the endless roll of colonial products, the difficulty was to discover some requisite of life and business that was awanting. Who has forgotten Victoria's glittering pyramid, rising conspicuous in the matchless scene, like a striking landmark in the radiant ocean of art and industry, and representing above one hundred millions' worth of gold, raised within a period of ten years, from the soil of the colony ?*

Victoria's gold pyramid.

There had been an interval of eleven years since the previous exhibition of the same kind. That first and inaugurating effort, resulting from one of the happiest and most successful of modern ideas, coming upon the world, as it did, with all the charm of novelty, as regarded both the immense edifice of glass, and the unprecedented variety and interest of its contents, took away, in some measure, the edge of effect from its still greater successor. Striking, however, was the advance of the later over the earlier exhibition. Nowhere was this advance more conspicuous than in the colonial department, and conspicuous above all was the advance that was presented by the Australian group.

Advance since previous Exhibition.

In 1851 a few medals and commendations awarded to Australia were chiefly for samples of wool, wheat, and flour, some wines, and specimens of colonial woods. New South Wales, as the senior colony, took the leading part, supported by New Zealand, Tasmania, and South Australia—the latter colony, by the way, receiving a high commendation for the quality of its

Australia on each occasion.

* The happy conception of the pyramid is due to Mr. J. G. Knight. It may still be seen amongst the great gathering of all things at the Crystal Palace.

wheat. While the delighted crowds were enjoying the novelty of the first days of this earlier exhibition, the discovery of the Australian gold-fields was being proclaimed at the antipodes. The first considerable nugget found in New South Wales was despatched in all haste, in the hope that it might still secure a place in the Great Exhibition, as some fresh trophy of Australia's rising importance. But it arrived too late to be included. It is not even noticed in the vast volume of objects and awards issued by the jurors; for who had then realized what was to result from Australia's mines? Victoria was still quiescent as to gold-mining, as Ballarat, Mount Alexander, and Bendigo were not known to the world for some months afterwards.

Victoria's later pre-eminence.

Victoria was still but the Port Phillip district of New South Wales when the first Exhibition opened. Small indeed was her appearance on that occasion. The notices called forth by her productions are limited to one sample of wheat and two samples of wool. But in 1862 Victoria takes conspicuously the prominent position of the group. Within a space of 14,277 superficial feet awarded to the seven colonies, Victoria occupies, with an almost numberless variety of objects, 5665 feet; while of 322 medals, and 229 honourable mentions, she appropriates 111 and 92 respectively. In the earlier Exhibition it was Canada that took the leading part—in the last one it is Victoria, whose contribution on the occasion was officially described as "embracing the largest and most varied collection of objects ever sent by a British colony to Europe."*

Thus it may be seen that if there was a remarkable

* Mr. J. G. Knight's pamphlet on Victoria ("A Few Particulars," etc.), 1863, page 15.

apathy in the colony as regarded the first Exhibition, a very opposite degree of feeling prevailed towards the second. Victoria felt the stimulus of conscious importance arising from her wonderful progress, and the Exhibition's cause was further aided by local individual exertion in the colony—so necessary to success in such matters. To the exertions of Sir Redmond Barry and Mr. J. G. Knight, Victoria owes much for the successful marshalling of her industrial triumphs upon the great international scene of trial and victory. Preliminary exertions in Victoria, 1861.

The Government of the colony appointed a commission to superintend the various objects intended for the Home Exhibition, and also an agent, Mr. Knight, who was to traverse the colony in order to give information, and to spur the colonists, if that were necessary, into ambition and activity. These duties were most effectively performed. The objects of industry soon poured in upon the commission; and on the 1st of October, 1861, when the stream had ceased, or the allotted time expired, the President, Sir R. Barry, opened the collection to a preliminary inspection of the colonists, prior to its being sent off to its final destination. Mr. Knight, agent.

The President, in his address, alluded in the first place, to the circumstance of the edifice in which they were assembled having been constructed in the year 1854, for the purposes of Victoria's contribution to the Great Exhibition at Paris in the year following. He then turned to the present position of the colony, and its progress during the previous ten years. These years comprised the most stirring period of its career, as they represented all the effect produced by the gold-mines. There had been in that interval nearly nine millions sterling expended by the Government in the roads, Sir R. Barry, president.

bridges, and public buildings of the colony, and nearly an equal amount was in course of expenditure upon railways. The colony had exported during the same time about sixteen millions worth of wool. But the striking feature in the case was the great amount of the export of gold. The value of this one article exported during these first ten years of gold-mining, had been no less than £103,940,976. This great sum, the colony was informed, would be represented at the International Exhibition by the novel object of the pyramid, to which we have already alluded.

Victoria's varied contributions.

Victoria contributed indeed an extraordinary variety of industrial objects on this occasion, even if we confine our survey to those only that commanded the medals and "honourable mention" of the jurors.* We had a right to expect very varied collections of wool, and a gorgeous display of gold specimens, together with the machinery employed in extracting the precious metal. Of wheat and flour, too, we were prepared for samples of high merit. Tallow candles, too, were comprised within our pastoral associations. We expected also specimens of some of Australia's colossal monarchs of the forest, and were not disappointed in the great red gum planks of upwards of ninety feet in length, that reached the Exhibition. We had heard of successful tobacco planting, and from the increasing noise about vine-growing we looked already for some fair samples of wine. Nor could Australia's striking natural history fail to be in some way illustrated. These anticipations were all abundantly realized. But there was much more than these. In a young colony, nearly one

* There was some joking about a large Meteorite which had been awarded "honourable mention"—not, we may hope, on account of the skill with which it was manufactured.

half of whose population was either busy upon gold-mines, or in their near neighbourhood ministering more or less to this engrossing pursuit, who was to expect such articles as chemical products, and essential oils; and hardly more would we have looked for fire-hose noddles, coffee roasters, and a life-boat. England is invaded in her old domain of woollens and woollen yarns, and the world at large is challenged in leather and saddlery, in hats and bonnets, in bookbinding, and in photographs. All these varied products of a new world, and more besides, for our prize list is not exhausted, took the high honours of the occasion on the old world's ground, and in the face of the high standard of its competition.

New Zealand Exhibition, 1865.

If we wish to be assured that a new world is arising in our colonial part of the southern hemisphere, we have but to turn to the announcement, lately received from New Zealand, of a grand Industrial Exhibition, to be held in January, 1865, at that colony's southern capital, Dunedin. We suppose the young nation's ambition must be content with the range of her own hemisphere for her guests; but we trust that that hemisphere will rally round its own, and will both support this spirited beginning of an independent movement, and not suffer the example to be lost on the future.

CHAPTER XIX.

GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATION.

Activities of colonial self-government—Colonial inheritance of the whole British code; partly unsuitable; heritable and entail laws—Colonial legislation; cases peculiar to colony; reproduction of home laws; land conveyancing; South Australian Land Transfer Act—Government railway system—Civil Service Act—Colonial divergences; mortgaging of live stock; Chinese restrictions; Convicts' Prevention Act—Habeas Corpus (Colonies) Act—Anglican bishops' powers—The "Protection" question in Victoria and New South Wales—Religion and State aid—Education; national system introduced—Politics; the "Democratic platform"—Intercolonial relations; want of united purpose; Abortive Federation Congress, 1863.

Activity under self-government.

DURING the eight years that have elapsed since the Australian colonies entered upon the duties of the self-government conceded to them by their Imperial head, they have presented a very animated spectacle. More busy than before with personal interests and material progress, more busy, too, with general interests and political affairs, the people give, by their enhanced activity, satisfactory evidence that they appreciate their new position. Undoubtedly, too, they enjoy the labours and responsibilities of this larger life. Each colony possesses an independent parliamentary existence, and each parliament seems a kind of machine of perpetual motion. There are parliamentary sessions and parliamentary ministries, as at home; but the sessions are

commonly much longer, and the tenure of the successive Governments much shorter than the home model. These are at least the evidences of energetic and disputatious life, and of a vast amount of business of some kind. Let us examine its general purport. We propose, therefore, in this chapter, to view the political position of our colonies. Incidentally, and for the sake of fuller illustration, the sister colonies are noticed along with Victoria. We shall also glance at the relationship of these colonies with the Imperial Government, and at the inter-relations as they subsist with each other.

The self-government; what is it?

What is that self-government which has thus aroused the activities of our Southern colonies, and wherein does it differ from their preceding systems? The answer to this question is eminently illustrative of British government generally, whether at home or in the colonies. The government is not one of fixed rules and definite written instructions. Sir Henry Barkly, on the occasion of a farewell demonstration lately at Melbourne, just before quitting his governorship, enlightens us somewhat on the subject. Sir Henry is not quite disposed to fall in with a rather prevalent notion that a "constitutional" governor now-a-days plays an easy and unanxious part. The governor, he says, will not arrive at his duties by a mere attention to home instructions, any more than to home precedents, many of them inapplicable to colonial circumstances. The instructions to governors, he continues, are just the same now as they were in the preceding state of things, while the indefinite language of the colonial constitution document on the prerogative question affords no clearer path. Nevertheless, the governor of the day can make good his way. He may form a fair notion of what must come of colonial self-government with ministries respon-

sible to elective parliaments, and where, besides, the Imperial Government hints that interference on its part must ever be the exceptionary feature of the new case. What remains for a governor but to set himself, by the aid of good common sense, and an appreciation of the fitness of things around him, to do good service to the colony, while at the same time he represents the sovereign.

Change it causes.

And yet an extraordinary political change has occurred within these eight years of self-government, distinguished not more for its extensive character than for the social order that has attended it. Manhood suffrage, and other kindred enactments, have become colonial laws. These principles have superseded a political position of the colony that was, perhaps, as much short of that enjoyed at home as the present colonial system is beyond the home one in the "advanced liberal" of the political status. In anticipation of these changes, the colony was already indeed, in regard to the comparative degree of equality in its social condition, and the independent circumstances of the great majority of the people, a society of democratic constitution. The changes in question were, therefore, beneficial, inasmuch as they seem, in the main, to have consisted in the substitution of what was suitable for what was unsuitable. Hence the transition facilities of the case, and the fact that the free and democratic colony is now not only more industrious and more progressive, but more satisfied and more loyal than when held in the previous condition of restraint by the Imperial Government.

Colonies inherit British code.

Victoria and the neighbouring colonies, ushered, as they were, into life under a direct Imperial rule, administered by local authorities responsible only to that rule, have instinctively, as it were, reproduced within

their respective bounds the home code in all civil and criminal procedure. It was no one's business to be much concerned either about saving the young colony from avoidable defects of the old model, or about local peculiarities of its own that might plead to be dealt with by original suggestions.

Originality in these respects comes from the masses, who practically experience the new situation and its wants, and who feel an interest and stimulus to declare their views in proportion generally to the political liberty and importance they feel themselves possessed of. But there is in such commencing scenes no mass to put forth decided views, nor yet political rights to give them effect if they are delivered. So all things, good and bad, the straight road and the circumbendibus, are reproduced as at home, with venerable John Doe and Richard Roe, and all the make-shifts and make-believes by which the narrowness of society's old way is sought to be widened to the measure of society's new wants. In trials of aboriginal criminals, some of these old-fashioned forms are fain to atone for inconvenience by supplying amusement. There is ever a preliminary mountain of difficulty about pleading "guilty or not guilty." "Does the prisoner at the bar clearly understand the question?" "Your Honour, he is understood to say it was 'merrijig' to tomahawk the deceased, and that he would like another chance." The sable knave, however, agrees to plead "not guilty," as recommended, and looks at the same time as if everybody were obliged to him for his pains. Unsuitable in part.

The colony inherits the whole category, civil and criminal. Our old laws of inheritance, and the powers of entail that are yet maintained, if they still suit home circumstances, are at any rate most un- Entail law.

suitable for those of colonies, upon whose clear ground a whole bundle of tradition and complexity has been thrown down. In the middle of next century, supposing a continuance of the system in Australia, some great landed proprietor, designing to sell a portion of his large possessions, may find that he cannot dispose of a single acre, because his great-great-grandfather saw fit, about the year 1864, to tie up the whole estate until the furthest verge of his legal privilege. His remote descendant may indeed at length see hopefully before him an approaching end to the effect of this ancestral fancy; but that in our young and busy colonial societies, with their ever-changing circumstances, the dead should be privileged thus to hamper successive generations of the living, and tie up the areas of the soil for perhaps a century together, is only second to excluding such areas altogether, as by some impenetrable rampart, from the purposes of society.

Primogeniture and inheriance.

In our colonies, where landed property is almost as common an inheritance as "chattels," our law of heritable descent must operate as a politico-economical evil and a social wrong much more widely than in this country. Either every parent has it on his conscience, or, if not, society in general thinks he ought to have it, to defeat the terrible iniquities of primogeniture. And again, as in this country, so in the colony, hardly a marriage takes place without a summons to a lawyer —from all at least who can afford the cost—in order to obviate by a "settlement" the country's old and uncongenial laws bearing on the subject. In every household, as it were, private feeling is arrayed against public law. Tradition and habit seem to make us lapse into the notion that our laws must somehow have a hostile bearing, were it for nothing else than to assure

us of our liberty by the power we have, as well as the desire we feel, of continually setting them aside.

British laws and colonial circumstances.

The first step towards a change of these laws has been taken by New South Wales, in "The Law of Primogeniture Abolition in case of Intestates Descent Bill," passed and assented to in the session of 1862. The South Australian Legislature discussed the same subject the year after,—not, we believe, for the first time, but without agreeing to a change. It seems undesirable that questions involving great national changes of this kind should be dealt with by any one separate colony of a group apart from the others, more especially as the principal Australian communities, with their political institutions and other circumstances so generally assimilated, are in a favourable position for agreeing to act unitedly. The high political bearing that is held by many to surround the entail and primogeniture questions in this country can hardly be said to have any application to an Australian colony. Society has there a democratic mood, to which such laws are an offence as well as an injustice. As to evils from subdivision of land, the sufferings of colonies have all usually come from the opposite cause—from too large private holdings, with their superficial cultivation or long protracted absolute waste. The newly adopted Land Transfer Act of Mr. Torrens will doubtless give increased facilities to subdivision; but we may rather expect that its facilities generally for all dealings with land, will have the effect of giving to the holdings the dimensions that are best suited to the particular uses of each class of holders. As we have already said, landed possessions belong to the many in the colony, and not to the few, as at home, and therefore our old feudal and other legislation regarding land is all the more

unsuitable. But yet, having taken up its abode in the colonies, the old system will, for a greater or less time, hold its ground.

A mixed heritage.

But the colony inherits also a vast treasury of home wisdom and experience. How desirable, as to this chequered inheritance, if the conjoint web could be unwoven, and only the applicable materials selected! New colonies are noble fields for the experiment. But who is to act and think in the business? Not the official staff, which is at once pre-occupied by a prescribed daily routine—not the colonists, few and without *status*—and so the best opportunity slips away.

Discriminating efforts of colony.

The home models are therefore wholly introduced, and they generally gain a strong root before that day of free government arrives which having the effect of turning every mind to public questions, under the stimulating assurance that these questions are now all, or nearly all, in the colonists own keeping, is favourable to original and practical views, and to breaking through the proverbial slavery to routine and habit on the part of exclusively upper class and irresponsible administrations. What course a colony would take in its legislation and its institutions generally, if politically free from the outset, and beginning its existence with a considerable body of a public of all social grades, might be a subject of some interesting speculation. The self-government in Australia came too late to do proper justice to this experiment, whatever it might have been worth. Suggestion, indeed, was endless, under the stimulus of freedom when the self-government did at last come. The effort to undo the past was considerable and widely spread, and in many respects the new and original views were admitted to be right, had they met the opportunity of an earlier

application. The compromise of the case, however, involved this effect at least, that views on public questions generally were extensively changed.

In the larger colonies of New South Wales and Victoria this result was more especially conspicuous. Indeed, the successive gradations, in putting off the old and embracing the new ideas—not always done without reluctance by those previously connected with public life—are a fertile cause of the endless parliamentary discussions, and the frequent changes of ministries in both colonies, that to outside observers seem little more than a purposeless waste of time. To the colonist actively mingling in the scene, these are the unavoidable preliminaries, until the public mind has come to a bearing upon public policy generally, and until, as Mr. Erskine May would say, those regular political parties are organized, which are at once a sign that the people have sounded their public questions, and a guarantee that principles will be prosecuted to actual results by the rules of experience and the discipline of co-operation. Difficulties.

Coming now to our field of instances, in transferring our view from early colonial stages to the present era of self-government, we may generally remark that, excepting in the religious and political institutions, the legislation has not materially departed from the home models. The Custom-house, which from the first erected its old accustomed form upon the scene, with its tariff on imports—that easy, well-beaten old track for securing a revenue—still remains, and still yields the main part of the public income, of what at least is revenue in the strict sense, exclusive of proceeds of land sales, of Government railways traffic, and like extraneous sources. Character of legislation. Customs' dues.

We have already, in another connection of our

Colonial peculiarities.

work; alluded to two prominent questions; the Public Lands regulations and the subject of Immigration.

Public lands.

These are matters peculiarly colonial, for there is not at home as in a colony a vast state domain, which is continually being sold, portion by portion, to the public; nor is there any wish, much less anxiety at home to increase the population by immigration from outside. But both these questions have a relationship to home in this respect, that home theories about them are often grievously opposed to the practical experience of those on the spot, and yet home theories have been all powerful in shaping the early colonial practice. These two questions then are more or less in this position. They seem about to settle themselves into certain concessions from the old to the new views; but a decision can hardly be said to have been yet quite precisely arrived at, and discussion lingers on in one form or other, session by session, in Victoria. In the case of the Lands' policy, it is very desirable that more facilities be given for the acquisition of land by those who purpose residing upon and actually making use of the soil. Some effort too should be made to prevent these facilities from being abused by any system of wholesale buying with the object of a speculative holding for a remote future market, or for otherwise maintaining valuable and agricultural areas more or less in a state of waste.

Immigration.

In the case of Immigration policy, the old practice, when employers ruled the question, of methodically importing "labour," that is to say, supplies of working hands, with the proceeds of the land sales, must be altered. The labouring classes, in their present turn of power, of course raise the counter cry of more work instead of more competing hands by aid of the public

money. The colony's welfare requires that both parties' views be to some extent carried out, and the compromise takes the shape on the one hand of some public works and improvements, and on the other of a paid or partly paid immigration, mainly directed to females. Pay for the females of an emigrating household, and the males will contrive to pay for themselves. The sexual inequality is still very great in the colony, and the female represents a bond of union in more than one sense between the rival disputants of the other sex on points of immigration policy. Sir Charles Hotham made a happy remark at Ballarat, subsequently to the occurrence of the riots there in 1854, that for the keeping of the peace he wanted rather a regiment of women than a regiment of soldiers.

Home defects. Land conveyancing.

Our home law and practice in regard to dealings with land is an instance of the colonial importation of home defects. In the infant settlement the lawyer is immediately in a throng of business encumbering the free colonial acres in the approved old accumulative home style, until the soil is hardly accessible beneath a mountain of parchments. The leisurely governments of those official holiday times give him abundant aid in the process by their usual dilatory issue of the Crown grants after the land sales. The lingering document dated on the day of issue, and long after the time of sale, perhaps comes to hand only after its subject has been sold, resold and sold again, or severed into a dozen segments by the busy and impatient colonists.

Torrens' Act, South Australia.

The home system in land conveyancing grew into an enormous evil in Australia even long prior to the time of self-government. But nothing of innovation in this time-honoured complexity could be attempted under the rote and circumlocution of the "old *régime*."

South Australia set the example, under the new order, with Mr. Robert Torrens' celebrated Land Transfer Act, a measure that was at first so vehemently opposed by the legal circle, from the bench downwards, as to cause doubts for some time, even far outside of that tenacious circle, and amongst many most anxious for reform, as to whether the extreme simplicity of the enactments were not a mere dream, and whether it were really possible to buy and sell land with the ready facility of other property. But the Act has fought its way, nevertheless, and from South Australia has passed successively to Queensland, Tasmania, New South Wales, and Victoria. Two of these colonies, Tasmania and New South Wales, have additionally passed in their assemblies a vote of thanks to the author of the measure. The legal opposition has fought hard and well. Never was a complex and cobwebbed Ptolemeyan driven with more reluctance into the insipid simplicities of the Copernican.

The English and Australian measure.

This new measure, which is styled "An Act to simplify the laws relating to the transfer and encumbrance of freehold and other interests in land," became law in South Australia in 1858, thus anticipating by four years the lately enacted English measure, and being in advance even of some projects preceding that measure, including Sir Hugh Cairns' propositions of 1859. The Australian Act differs from Sir H. Cairns' in some particulars, chiefly in this, that it gives to a purchaser for value an indefeasible possession after the title has passed the ordeal of the Registrar. This principle, we may remark, has been adopted in Lord Westbury's Land Transfer Act, which came into operation in this country on the 1st of October, 1862.

The Torrens' Act makes indeed sad havoc of the

old system as to dealings with land, with its endless work and its legion of legal agency. Let us look at its procedure. A public registrar has the description and incidents of each piece of landed property in each page of his Land Register. He furnishes each owner with a duplicate copy of the page devoted to his property. If the owner borrows on his land, the fact is duly noted on both documents. If he sells all, his duplicate is withdrawn. If he sells part, a fresh document is substituted, representing the remainder. In short, as the South Australians justly boast, a transaction in land may be carried out by any two persons of ordinary intelligence without the intervention of law at all, and within the compass of an hour. At the annual dinner of the Law Amendment Society in 1863, Lord Brougham took the opportunity of highly commending the Australian Act, its author himself being present at the time. The measure, he said, gave a solution to difficulties this country had been long trying to overcome, and he regarded it as the greatest practical reform of the day.

Features of Torrens' Act.

The Torrens' Act was certainly an invasion upon old British example, but it was a case in which Britain and the colonies were both struggling, by their reformatory tendencies, to attain the same object, and in which the latter, being the younger and the less encumbered, gained the day. The colonies have departed more decidedly from home example in regard to the construction and management of their main lines of railway by their Governments. These railways, in New South Wales and Victoria at least, were first projected by joint-stock companies with the aid of a Government guarantee of yearly interest on the required capital. But this plan proved unsuccessful, partly

Government railways, Victoria.

perhaps from the inadequate guarantee inducement at the time, which, in the case of Victoria, was five per cent. interest for twenty-one years. Democratic communities are accused of a readiness to incur debt. This has not, however, been yet exemplified in Victoria. The present Government railway system was projected and commenced prior to the operation of the new political order. The purchase subsequently of the Geelong and Melbourne Railway for about £600,000, the only fresh debt since contracted, was rendered necessary by the rest of the railway plan. At the same time, although the authorized amount of debt has not been increased under the new order, there has been a large continuous expenditure in the railway constructions, which will probably not be concluded until towards the end of 1864, when the railway system will traverse the whole colony from Port Phillip to the River Murray.

New South Wales.

While, however, the Victoria debt is now arrested, or is actually already on the decrease, that of New South Wales, on the other hand, rapidly increases, and gives promise that, two or three years hence, it will equal or exceed that of Victoria. This debt, too, as in Victoria's case, is mainly for railways. But there is a special and highly-cherished object that urges forward these constructions. By the urgency of all classes alike, the colony is pushing forward its Great Southern line, in order to intercept the efforts of Victoria to secure the commerce of the southern and western districts. Victoria, by the aid of the Murray navigation, and of her railway, which is just being completed to that river, has been increasingly "poaching" upon New South Wales throughout the Murrumbidgee district, and up the whole valley of the Darling.

These great public works swell the influence and multiply the political temptations of the different parties that successively come into ministerial office; and they are, therefore, illegitimate and improper adjuncts. From these and from other causes connected with a colony of large revenues and resources, the civil offices form a vast field of Government patronage. But no offices whatever, excepting those of the political heads, are liable to be vacated for political reasons, on the occasion of changes of party administration. The late Civil Service Act of 1861-2 still further confirms this principle, which previously, however, had always been acted upon. The object of the Act is to introduce a thoroughly systematic method with all the public offices. It provides, upon suitable principles, for a proper scale of remuneration, for a system of promotion, for superannuation, etc., and thus does away with the endless debates on the occasion of passing the yearly estimates, at which times, from partisan feeling for or against any officer or his office, additions or reductions were obtained on improper or accidental grounds. The effect of the Act is to give a character of increased regularity and permanence to all the offices. Civil Service Act.

Australia's efforts in the direction of a legislation to suit her local circumstances independently of home example have been exhibited chiefly since the self-government, or within several years immediately preceding that time, when she felt her elevation to importance by the gold discoveries. There was, as we have said, but little previous encouragement or opportunity. But there is one exception, constituting, so to speak, an old offence against the principles of British law. It is the act giving legality to mortgages of live stock, Mortgaging of live stock.

and to liens upon the yearly clip of wool. This Act was passed in New South Wales in the year 1843, during the first session of the colony's first representative Legislature. The measure has proved of a most suitable and useful character, having been adopted by the other colonies, and extensively acted upon by all. The home authorities, however, refused at the time to sanction it, replying in rather disparaging terms as to a system of pledging things moveable, and the direct encouragement it gave to fraud. The colonial Assembly, nevertheless, after animadverting in their turn on the vexatious circumstance that their labours for the welfare of the colony should be rendered nugatory by the mere theoretical surmises of home minds, re-enacted the disallowed measure, to which the local Governor assented as before for a period of two years' duration; and the colony has ever since enjoyed the benefit of this law. The principle has lately been extended from growing fleeces of wool to growing crops of fruit, etc., which in New South Wales and Queensland may now be subjected to a preferent lien during the time of coming to maturity.

Chinese Restriction Law.

Allusion has already been made to the Chinese Immigration Restriction law, whose terms were quite opposed to both the spirit and the letter of British procedure, alike at home as in the colonies, and opposed also to the terms of a lately preceding treaty with China. The question was, however, one of high social import to the colony, and one that had strongly aroused colonial feeling in a direction mostly hostile to the Chinese; while the relative multitude of the inpouring Chinamen gave the case altogether an exceptional bearing as regarded ordinary international intercourse, whether with or without special treaties. The Royal

assent was, therefore, not withheld from the measure; and the same assent has lately been repeated with regard to New South Wales, where the Restrictive Act in question was also passed in 1862, after a long-continued opposition to it by the Upper House, and at a time, too, when the adjacent colonies were revising and abandoning their restrictions.

Convicts' Prevention Act.

The Victoria Convicts' Prevention Act of 1852, afterwards adopted by South Australia, was on the other hand refused the assent of the home authorities. But, as with the Live Stock Mortgage Act, it was re-enacted for two years' periods, and finally made good by the colony. The Imperial objection was that the Queen's prerogative of granting "conditional pardons" to the criminal section of Her Majesty's subjects was violated by Victoria's exclusion of these half-pardoned offenders. With Victoria the main object was to protect her society from the British convicts of Van Diemen's Land, who were allowed to leave that colony, but not to enter England. Victoria presenting a very tempting field for these persons, they at once made off for the north side of Bass's Strait; but no argument about prerogative or anything else could persuade Victoria that these convicts could be justly admissible to her society, if they were forbidden that of the mother country. The Home Government have at length practically acquiesced in this view of the case. We may perhaps hope that they will also presently come to the same conclusion as to the Royal prerogative, in its somewhat kindred operation of continuing to send the home convicts to any part of Australia, even although the small Western settlement should continue willing to receive them. The colonists will persist, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, to render to their

Queen and Government the loyal compliment of believing that the prerogative is exercised for the good of the people.

Canada, Habeas Corpus Act.

These various instances show that colonists are well disposed to fight to the last inch for the ground of rights and privileges, and their independent Legislatures are a powerful armour in their favour. Of this spirit and this position, as well as of the conciliatory views of the Imperial Government, we are reminded by a late occasion, when the Duke of Newcastle obtained from Parliament the Habeas Corpus (Colonies) Act of 1862. The cause of this Act was the case of Anderson, the fugitive slave, who was demanded from the Canadian Government by one of the States of the American Union, from which he had fled after killing his master. The Canadian judges, by a majority, had ruled that "substantially" the slave should be delivered, in terms of treaties. Subsequently, indeed, it appeared that this course would have been avoided, although only through some informality. Meanwhile, however, as the Imperial Government had been aroused to the case by this unexpected announcement, Anderson was removed from his rather shaky position by writ of *Habeas Corpus* issued from the Queen's Bench, for trial of the question in this country, and the result was that he was not delivered up to the States. This procedure was complained of, however, by Canada as an invasion of the coequal rights of its law courts; and hence the amicable measure so lately passed, which recognized that the Home Court of Queen's Bench had no right to override the colonial authority in colonies where a similar court already existed.

In this case the colony is urging its rights upon the Home Government. In another case the Home Tri-

bunals may be said to have been, with an edifying good will, the suggesting parties as to colonial powers overlooked in the colony. This case was the late difference between the Bishop of Cape Town and one of his clergy, who had defied the authority of the bishop's summons. The colonial court had considered the priest to be bound by the terms of his acceptance of office under authority of his bishop; but the home appeal reversed this view, by reason of the bishop's authority having no colonial standing-ground. The Queen's patent to the bishop could give him no authority in the colony, independently of the free Parliament then existing. The bishop's original appointment, indeed, preceded that self-government period. He was at first Bishop of the Cape of Good Hope; but if his ecclesiastical authority thus derived from home might be inferred as surviving under the colony's political change, the position was lost by reason of the subsequent arrangement, by which the bishop became a metropolitan with a new title, and under a fresh patent issued after the date of the colony's independent Legislature.

Cape Colony, Anglican Bishop and clergy.

If we allude just at this place to the question of "Protection," with reference to Australia's commercial views and possible policy, we owe some apology to Victoria, and even more to her sister colonies. We are now surrounding ourselves with instances that bear rather the character of departures on the part of colonies from the home model; whereas none of these colonies has systematically and avowedly adopted protection principles, although the "protective" mantle has incidentally, as it were, fallen upon tobacco-growing, wine-making, and a few other less important tariff items in the revenue arrangements of most colonies of the group. But the protectionist tendencies, which,

Question of "Protection."

An infirmity of democracy.

from the protracted example of America, and even of our own Canada in some lesser degree, seem almost the settled infirmity of democratic societies, would appear to have unquestionably gained strength in Victoria since the inauguration of self-government and manhood suffrage. Indeed, in the colony's late democratic race—the reactionary undoing, as it were, of the old order—the reaction culminated; as we have already elsewhere noticed, in a vote of the Assembly, passed in 1861 by a majority of twenty-two to twenty, approving of the principle of protection being adopted in any future tariff changes.

Tried, but rejected in Victoria.

But since then this reaction has itself reacted. The protectionist administration that came momentarily into existence at the time, bringing with it a fresh elected assembly, was voted out of office without even a hearing; and there is now, and there has been since, a ministry which is opposed to protection, and which maintains the free trade system that has always prevailed since the colony began to legislate for itself. If the colony had lately for a season its sails spread and helm down for the haven of Protection, at a time when the long experience and the hard intellectual battle of the mother country were sending her barque exactly on the opposite tack, we may now, perhaps, hope that the permanent direction of the course has become the same in both cases, and that in future we may relegate the protection paragraph, if there be still occasion for one, to a different class of subjects and a less dubious position in comparisons of Imperial and colonial policy and legislation.

Tariff prescriptions.

Imperial law restrains the colonies from imposing discriminating import duties, wherever the goods are produced, even if in Britain herself. Rum and brandy, tobacco and cigars, in the maintainable view that they are each a

different article, may all bear a different rate of duty; only that each such different article, wherever made, or wheresoever imported, must bear the same duty. The colonies cannot, therefore, protect even their good and liberal mother, if they thought of giving her, by a tariff arrangement, a bonus in the shape of a higher price for any of her goods than they were worth in the world's market. But they may do this as regards their own home industry, and the notion that by so favouring some interests they will benefit the whole, seems indelibly written in a good many minds.

Protection, and the food question.

There is a curious contradiction in the free trade question between home and colonial experience; for while at home Protection received its death-blow in great measure by aid of the masses, in the intellectual fight of the late anti-corn law agitation; in the colonies, on the other hand, protection ideas seem to come into favour in proportion as the social condition gives to the mass a political predominance over the comparative few who possess leisure and cultivation. Is this anomaly to be explained by the fact that the home argument touched only a question of protecting food, and not of home manufactures, which seem ever the great entanglement to the protectionist mind?

The common-sense view.

This cheap food question is, indeed, a powerful appeal to common sense against protection dogmas, and sends theories to the winds. We can realize the father of a household as a perplexed politician, who tries, once and again, in the passing intervals of daily toil, to thread the mazy but patriotic argument; but the mother is an economist of the most practical stamp, and when she has estimated for the mouths of her family, no argument on earth will ever convince her that the large and the small loaf at the same money are the same thing.

And so it was, too, in Victoria, for when their day of trial came to the protectionist party, they felt that the food question must be dropped out of the favoured list, to the consternation of a large district of expectant farmers, who claimed the merit of having originated and kept alive the subject in the colony. The popular notions on this protection question in Victoria run mainly in favour of domestic manufactures, created or fostered both to give home employment and to save outside purchases. But what is the difference in principle between food or anything else we require, as all are alike manufactures of one kind or other, such as wheat and bread, woollens and leather, vehicles and furniture? Some colonial protectionists may admit this, and regret that the principle should not be carried out in its integrity; but they are consoled to think that, at any rate, if the country secures some protection, it must be better off than with none at all.

The waste of protection.

Such colonists we suppose to have the idea that, at whosesoever expense particular interests amongst themselves are protected, it cannot be at that of the colony. So thought and judged America, and she has reared up, by means of protective duties for exclusion of rival goods, a great manufacturing interest, for which she has long paid twenty-five or thirty per cent. in extra price, in order that the manufacturers might derive ten per cent. in profit. We may credit America's enduring patriotism, but also hope that such a vast yearly loss of means and misdirection of labour-power will not happen to Australia. All this manufacturing industry might already have sprung up of itself, and entirely self-supported; or, if not, it would have been because the country's labour-power was otherwise more profitably employed.

Economists have now demonstrated this question, in its main features, almost with the clearness of mathematics; but there is an infinity of entanglement in the bearing of details and of collateral questions. For instance, far-seeing minds may feel warranted in fostering at first some unappreciated vocation that seemed suited to colonial resources, and whose subsequent prosperity promised to far more than repay the cost of the early protection. This is quite another principle. Young colonies may want such special training; but the practice is apt to be abused by arbitrary and needless sacrifices, and it finds no favour in this country, as the recent instance of the Government refusing to foster the cause of Indian cotton-growing may exemplify. In Britain, the interests of "the consumer," that is the whole people, are first, and, excepting as to some few lingering incidents of old times, the consumer is allowed the world as his market; so that every home calling must rest upon its own feet or be given up. The fostering hand in the colony may divert labour to something that after all does not prove prosperous and self-supporting. At all events, the insertion of the edge of the protective wedge, however thin, is the first act of the withdrawal of labour and capital from what, in technical speech, pays, to what does not pay, or at least is less profitable. Certain supplies from outside being taxed or prohibited, the colony, in consequence of the advance in price, diverts its labour to make them good, and the colony compels itself to pay the increased price that is required to yield a profit. The result is a diminished productiveness of labour.

Early fostering sometimes beneficial.

The Victorian protectionist is happily extricated from one common entanglement. Since the very material of money is, by the gold discoveries, become the

Alleged want of employment.

colony's chief export, he has ceased to cry out to "keep the gold circulating in the country." But he fears for the full employment of the country's increasing population, unless increasing work be provided, and that work be assured of profit by protection. A late colonial newspaper remarks that this argument is being urged in Victoria on the ground that the late period at which the young members of families are sent out to work argues an evident scarcity of employment. The writer goes on to give what is the more probable explanation, namely, the facility with which an ample subsistence can be gained in the colony, and the consequent preference of parents to send forth their children to daily toil no sooner than may be necessary or beneficial. On another occasion lately, the transmission to England of a large order for the iron pipes required for the Ballarat Gas Company seemed to some to be just so much loss as compared with executing the work in the colony and adding to its sphere of employment. But as the artisans would not accept less than 16s. of wages per day, which was an expense that would have made the materials more than one half dearer than they could be brought to the spot for from England, self-interest and common sense directed the company to the cheapest market.

Employment and remuneration different.

There is a certain measure of reason in this employment view, if the subject is a question of work and not of remuneration. We might, for illustration, follow the argument to its extreme, even to the realizing of M. Bastiat's ironical proposition to his protection-loving countrymen to protect and develope the wax-taper interest of France by excluding the ruinously cheap light of the sun. Colonial manufactures may be protected by excluding cheaper similar fabrics from

outside, and colonial roadmaking might be protected by directing it designedly through swamps or over mountains, in order to give increased employment. As to the principle of the argument, these cases are all in one category. There *might* be more employment; there *will always* be less result. The colony might create a vast employment in water-carrying, by shutting up the Yarra and Yan Yean, and enacting that all future supply should come from the Murray. Nay, if the natural atmosphere itself could be excluded, one half of society might find full work in manufacturing an artificial one.

Extremes of a principle.

Of course common sense arrests protection long before it attains these lengths; but the principle is the same for ten per cent. loss as for ninety per cent. Labour and capital, when acting in freedom, naturally adjust themselves to the methods of cheapest and largest production. The effect of protective enactments is to divert both into channels less productive. We have but to carry our protection sufficiently far in an interfering legislation, and every man, woman, and child in the country may be toiling twenty-four hours a day, without being able to procure a sufficient subsistence.*

* Since the above was written, a protectionist Premier has taken the reins at Sydney. One reads as of dream-lore the arguments that would at this day call up protection upon the clear ground of any country. The efforts of France's free trade Emperor have ever been impeded by the vast protected fabric that has arisen over the country out of time-honoured efforts to direct labour and capital into other and less profitable channels than they were of themselves disposed to follow. The new Sydney Premier is a legal gentleman, doubtless of learned education; and the protective section of Victoria's democracy may be thankful for the apology thus found for its views. The opposition of "the upper ten-thousand" in the anti-corn law contest of the mother country hands down a standing

Chief Colonial divergences.

By far the most important departure of the colonies from the home institutions has been, as we have said, in connection with religion and politics.

Religion, and State aid.

We must infer that the religious, or rather the ecclesiastical, side of politics is a subject even more sensitive and impatient than the secular. As to the latter, the colonists could abide, although not without a grumble, the interval of Imperial irresponsible administration, until self-government was formally conceded to them; but as to the other, when once free of the home soil, they could never endure the religious inequalities and state establishments of the home model. In New South Wales, nearly thirty years ago, and prior to the time of representative institutions there, but after the colony had acquired, through free immigration, a considerable body of society alongside of the convict elements originally there, the question of religion with reference to the state was first regulated by a colonial Act, that awarded a certain pecuniary aid to each of the "Christian" sects. Public feeling subsequently led to this aid being extended to the Jews. Indeed the principle of equality thus recognized, and that of returning to society in its religious aspect, for the in-

The Church Act.

apology of a like kind. But the junior, which has example to profit by and no traditions to fight against, is withal less excusable than the senior. With the latter there was the prospect at least, although happily not realized, of a reduced value and rental of land under a free importation of grain. And there were also high political associations in the question. It was natural that England's greatness should seem to her landed interest bound up in the high value maintained for her acres by restrictions on importation. We might even fancy the "landed interest" in a besieged city to be dreaming of growing prosperity in the advancing prices of its garden plots, and regarding as so much incidental good fortune to the community the "protection" afforded by the enemy.

terests of morality and good order, some proportion of the public revenue that society in its secular aspect had contributed, might have admitted of well-founded claims from an orderly body of Mussulmans or Buddhists. The system left the religious relationship essentially that of voluntaryism, as the State never interfered in a religious sense, and its aid was only co-operative, along with private contributions, and dependent on the Census proportions of each religious body, and the numbers of church attendants. The system.

But as society extended and more thoroughly examined this condition of the State towards religion, it seems to have been increasingly disapproved of. The question, however, is still one apparently of interminable difference of opinion in Australia; and the "State Aid" is still vigorously argued for, as the sole available mode, in a free British colony, of securing a public recognition of religion, and of placing both its ministrations and its ministers in a position of independence and dignity. And yet, one after another, each colony, at least by majorities of its people, seems surely dropping "the bone of contention," preferring to stand, at whatever cost, on the uncompromising basis of total State disconnection. South Australia led the way to this result above ten years ago. Tasmania followed; but as the Act which was passed in that colony on the subject did not satisfy the Imperial Government as to the compensatory clauses, the Royal assent has for the present been refused. The young Queensland, too, has abolished the aid. New South Wales comes next, so late as 1863, the arrangements of the abolishing Act having been approved of at home, notwithstanding the protest of the Anglican bishop of Sydney, based on some points in Abolished in some colonies. South Australia. Queensland and New South Wales.

the case which his lordship construed as tantamount to a permanent guarantee of State aid. Lastly comes Victoria, which, after negativing the aid repeatedly in the Assembly, has for several years past held it in unsatisfactory suspense by the precarious thread of a one or a two votes' majority of the Upper House.

Lingers in Victoria.

Education.

While religion in the colony tends to seclude itself from the State in the separate and equal independence of its various bodies, education, on the other hand, takes a more cosmopolitan relationship in the feelings of the colonists, and seeks the aid and alliance of the secular arm. The tendency as to State-supported educational systems, is towards the national and the secular much more than in Britain. The denominational system, however, took root widely in Australia prior to representative institutions, chiefly through the instrumentality of the various clergy, and more especially those of the Anglican and Roman Catholic communions. Nearly all these religious dignitaries of every persuasion had come to the colonies home-reared and imbued with the home educational views.

The rival systems.

National system adopted.

The colonial national system, a modification of that of Ireland, was not formally introduced into Victoria until the year 1851, on the occasion of the colony acquiring a Legislature of its own, after separation from New South Wales. Although this system gained ground each year upon its rival, yet the denominational was still the larger interest of the two, up to the recent amalgamation of both systems into one of a national or secular character. Greater progress with the national has been made in New South Wales, where, however, that system has been longer in operation. For the future we may perhaps expect that a colonially trained clergy—and such begin now to officiate

in Australia—will unite more cordially with general colonial sentiment, to bring together in youth those who should in after years co-operate in mutual good-will for the general interests of their country. Meanwhile the legislative Assembly may speak for the views of the colonial public by the vote which it passed in 1862, approving, by a majority of 35 to 23 of its members, of Mr. Heales' motion in favour of a national system of education under State aid, and rejecting the motion of Mr. O'Shanassy, in the denominational interest, by 29 to 21 votes.

Political divergences.

The departure from the home example in political institutions is more remarkable, as we have already stated, than in any other diverging feature of the colonies. The three different settlements that have hitherto been of most weight in the group, New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, have all adopted what are regarded as extreme democratic principles. They have all instituted a double Chamber of Legislation, and they are further agreed with the home example in having abolished property qualification for membership of the Lower House. But they have stepped beyond the parental model by enacting vote by secret ballot as to both Houses, and manhood suffrage, together with a near approach to the population basis in electoral distribution, as regards the Assembly or Lower House.

The democratic platform.

These important steps have not been taken in all the Southern colonies, but as yet only in those that show considerable concentration of population. The political activity that resulted amongst our well-to-do colonial masses, together with the equality ideas, inspired alike by the actual situation as by the absence of everything traditional on the new scene, gave a resistless impulse towards these democratic institutions.

Tasmania, on the other hand, with a more scattered and agricultural population, and having the moral power of the working classes impaired by the still largely intermingling convict elements resulting from the Imperial transportation system, has not adopted the "democratic platform." Neither has Queensland as yet, with its powerful squatting element; nor even New Zealand, which, although considerably peopled by energetic colonists of all classes, is detached into many separate small communities by the great extent of sea-coast margin, and the many distinct seaports given by its island character. In these latter colonies then, the political intensity caused by the new life, has not reached the point of overturning the main principle of the old order. They have made some considerable changes, but still retain qualified franchises.

Intercolonial relations.

From the subject of the relations between the Imperial Government and these colonies, we turn to that of the colonies in their relations to each other. Here we have a considerable diversity both of views and actions on the part of the different governments and legislatures, and as between colony and colony their diversities are not always settled with the readiness and courtesy that now happily characterize the relations with home. If the differences in question are but seldom of a very antagonistic nature, they at least operate with injurious effect against the due influence, in the empire and in the world, of this great group of colonies. No doubt such disagreements as do occur are but the political phase of quarrelling, and affect little the social and fraternal feelings of fellow-countrymen, separated only officially by intercolonial boundaries. Still they are the circumstances that form the small beginnings of future estrangement.

The handling of subjects, too, is a little rough. As the political parties of the same colony are freely wont, in the occasional warmth of public life, to administer hearty knocks to each other, they hardly see how opponents across the border should be spared, who stand in the way upon some postal tariff, or other question of high political excitement in the passing hour.

United action wanted.

Situated as these colonies now are, having each those self-governing administrations in which respectively the whole people may be said to take an energetic part, they appear under what we may call very segregative influences. Independent in social circumstances, practically intelligent, and with an irrepressible interest in public affairs, each colonial community, absorbed in itself, becomes the familiar master of its own public questions, and therefore each year the more indisposed to these questions passing out of its hands, either by a federal or any other interfering arrangement. Nor is any progress towards united action likely to be very effective against this tendency unless those masses of the public, that will ever sway the case, be brought to take a part, more or less direct, in the unifying process. Against the natural drift, as it were, into separate seclusiveness in each colony, there is a strong Australian public sentiment recognizing the advantages of union. American example may serve to teach that the measures towards union, when actually entered upon, should be of no lax or doubtful nature, and should tend further than ordinary federation.

Tariff varieties and changes.

As the case now stands, every separate colony indulges its own tariff fancies, both in framing tariffs different from those of its neighbours, and after these tariffs are made, in altering them upon considerations comparatively light, and seldom embracing interests

beyond the particular colony. In Victoria, the temporary protectionist Government of 1861 proposed a very important "re-arrangement of the tariff," on the ground mainly of a deficiency of revenue. In New South Wales also, as the last mails inform us, a new finance minister, on ascertaining, or at least apprehending, a serious short-coming in revenue, flies at once to the tariff, which he proposes to manipulate, both minutely and extensively. These are tendencies to instability which a larger population and more diversified interests might remedy. If a central general authority controlled the tariff, in common with other great questions, it would not be liable to such light handling, and colonies with deficient revenues would have to reconsider whether the difficulty was not to be met by diminished expenditure.

Restrictions on Chinese.

To return to another subject which for the sake of a different illustration has been elsewhere alluded to, we have in Australian legislation an array of cross purposes in regard to Chinese immigration. Victoria begins the restriction system as to that race. After a season South Australia follows the example. Victoria next superadds to the stringency of the anti-Chinese measure, but afterwards successively repeals all but one restriction clause, while South Australia repeals all. Just when the question is at this point with these other colonies, New South Wales, which had held aloof from this policy (or rather had been in dispute over it, the Council always rejecting the proposed measure of the Assembly), comes upon the scene, only as it were the other day, with an Act reviving the utmost stringency of the Victorian precedent. In whatever way this question ought to be dealt with, it certainly should not be after this disjointed fashion.

Interior boundaries.

The interior boundaries of the colonies, as now, for instance, with those of New South Wales and Victoria, are apt to become a scene of constant contention about tariff dues and traffic; or, as presently threatened between these two neighbours, they may exhibit the more deplorable spectacle of a line of hostile custom-houses, each one helping to destroy the trade and revenues that the rival parties seek to secure. South Australia, which holds the mouth of the Murray, at present collects the customs' dues on goods entering the river for New South Wales, but she and Victoria cannot agree upon this convenient and economical course.

Secessions in colonies.

Again, Australia has many times wanted the weight of union to give power and command in her postal arrangements. Nor should we omit the ever-recurring tendency of our great colonial areas to shelve off at their extremities into separate colonies and governments. Two cases of this kind, namely, the Portland and Rivoli Bay circuits in Victoria and South Australia, and the Riverine district of New South Wales, are actually now pending. There is no stimulus to the young life of a colonial society equal to the local administration of a responsible Government. It is generally desirable, therefore, if not actually to encourage, at least to meet cordially such aspirations where there is any presentable case. Each such question may be more easily and liberally dealt with by one common central authority that is still to retain the aspiring district, under whatever official form, than by leaving the disruptive community to battle with itself, and to inundate the distant Imperial Government with the *ex parte* statements of the disputing sections.

The unifying movement, however, has apparently, as yet, made no step that is of any avail. Colonial

Federal Congress, 1863.

Governments have repeatedly alluded, in recommendatory terms, to the subject; and legislative committees have presented favourable reports. Still more, a conference of colonial delegates has actually assembled, and accomplished a sort of sessional existence. As already mentioned, this Congress assembled at Melbourne in the month of March, 1863, and represented the four colonies—New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. It consisted of two or three members selected from each ministry of the respective conferring colonies. A report was drawn up, and a tariff framed for general adoption. But already there seems the impression that no results whatever will follow. The

Inadequately constituted.

respective colonial publics were not made direct parties, either by an independent election of the representatives, or by some popular confirmation of a Government or Parliamentary nomination. As a climax of annihilation, even the press was excluded from the congress

Abortive result.

debates. How little of its object the Congress accomplished may be surmised from the fact, that hardly had its tariff been published when it was deliberately set aside by South Australia, the colony with which the Congress proposal had originated. That colony, having occasion at the time to reconstruct its tariff, not merely declined that which the Congress recommended, but proceeded even in direct hostility to one of its important principles by retaining the *ad valorem* system of duties, a system the Congress had entirely excluded. We fear that the question of an Australian tariff is not to be decided upon after this quiet and summary fashion; nor any otherwise than by bringing into the arena of discussion the whole colonial public by as direct a tie as the nature of such cases will permit.

CHAPTER XX.

RELIGION WITH REFERENCE TO THE STATE, AND EDUCATION WITH REFERENCE TO THE STATE AND TO RELIGION.

Present position of religion and education in Victoria—State aid to religion; its origin and features—Religious bodies and the State—Position of the Church of England—Its relations in Crown and free colonies—Attempts to make a special position—Position in Victoria by Colonial Act—Education—National and Denominational rivalries—National Education Act of 1862—Relative positions before the Act—Education still limited—Melbourne University, unsectarian—Endowment, professors, etc.—Increasing success—A retrospect of twenty years.

Their position in Victoria.

THE political agitation in Victoria that followed upon the proclamation of the new constitution and the self-government towards the end of 1855, produced a "people's programme" of principles, which as the result of much discussion and many public meetings, was very generally adopted in all towns and places where political feeling had shown itself active. That programme may be said to be now the political law of the colony. The only points that are not yet fully carried out are the two subjects of this chapter. The programme included "No State Aid to Religion," and "A National System of Education." The State Aid principle, as we have said, still exists in Victoria. After repeated rejection by the Assembly, it still lingers by a slender majority of the Council, or Upper House.

Regarding education, the State funds are now given for secular instruction only, in terms of the Act of 1862, by which one general Board of Education was substituted in place of the two preceding rival National and Denominational Boards; but in other respects, innovation upon pre-established modes has been avoided as much as was possible, consistently with the main principle in view.

State aid to Religion.

The new constitution, as the reader may recollect, was, after much discussion, agreed to by the Colonial Legislature not two years before it was thus attacked and undermined by the programme above referred to. But the legislature in question belonged to the old order, with its Crown nominee members, its unequal electorates, and its limited franchise, so that its reforms were themselves to be reformed. The new constitution, thus derived, not only continued the State Aid to Religion, but greatly augmented its amount. Accordingly, the celebrated "Fifty-third clause" fixed the yearly aid at £50,000. This amount took the place of the previous sum of £30,000, while the latter had been substituted about two years before for the modest amount of £6000, the total of the aid with which the colony commenced its existence in the year 1851. These sudden and great advances, however, do no more than correspond to the contemporary progress of the colony's wealth and population.

Religion and the State.

Origin of the aid.

Although this State Aid system seems waning into an institution of the past in Australia, yet as it has existed in most of her colonies, and is still in some of them a great public question, we may here trace its introduction and history. It originated in New South Wales, in an

Act of that colony, passed in the year 1836, at the instance mainly of the colonial Governor of that time, Sir Richard Bourke, and entitled, "An Act to promote the Building of Churches and Chapels, and provide for the Ministers of Religion in New South Wales." The principle which the measure involved was that of an equal participation, by the various "Christian" bodies, in the pecuniary aid of the Government, in accordance with certain conditions and limitations. Wherever £300 was privately subscribed towards a church and minister's dwelling, the Government would add a like sum; where a congregation of one hundred was collected, the public aid would, in like manner, be given to the extent of £100, and in the case of one hundred and fifty attendants, £150, while to a congregation of five hundred, the maximum of £200 would be allowed.

New South Wales' Act, 1836.

This measure, when proposed, met with some opposition in the colony. It was indeed tantamount to a dethronement of the Church of England, from the supremacy that she had, as it were, inherited since the commencement of the colony, and her bishop and clergy naturally gave it their opposition. The Governor himself seems to have been in some hesitation at one time, if we may judge from the following extract from a despatch only the preceding year:—"The means of education being secured, I shall feel disposed to leave it to the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants to provide for churches and clergy. To aid all where the creeds are various seems impossible, and a partial distribution of the public funds seems nearly allied to injustice." But the measure was passed by the nominee Council of the time by a majority of eight votes to four, and it was approved of and ratified at home on the

ground of the great experience of the Governor, who had commended it as of a suitable character.

Predisposing causes.

We may remark as to some predisposing causes in favour of this system of religious equality, that prior to the "Church Act" in question, it had been thought proper with regard to the colony, as has been more recently done for this country, to provide Roman Catholic chaplains to the jails, in consequence of the large number of convicts of that persuasion. When this part of the population became subsequently much intermixed with the other colonists, a claim for the endowment of Catholic chaplains in proportion to the number of that religious body was urged upon the colonial department. This claim was considered reasonable, and was allowed by Lord Monteagle in 1834, and ultimately carried into effect by Lord Aberdeen in the following year. The succeeding Colonial Act of 1836 draws no distinctions as to this or other religious denominations. It sets forth the English, Scotch, and Roman Catholic churches as the objects of its provisions, but adds that applications from any other denominations of Christians would be taken into consideration, according to the circumstances of each case. Under this Act, the Unitarians have participated in the general aid to religion; and at a later period, as we have noticed in our last chapter, the Jews have been admitted to the same benefit.

Voluntaryism of religion.

The State, while giving the aid, makes no interference in religion, and does not ally itself with any of the different bodies. The system is essentially that of voluntaryism, whether with or without the aid, as the State is merely in the position of a contributor along with others. It is one who gives a pretty large subscription, and who makes stipulations beforehand

that others shall give also in at least a certain proportion.

Most of the colonial clergy have made no difficulty about accepting the aid, particularly those of the Anglican, the Roman Catholic, the Church of Scotland, and the Wesleyan bodies. The other bodies and their clergy have been more divided in their opinions on the question, and have generally rejected it. They have in fact been to the system the nucleus of opposition that has latterly expanded so powerfully as to doom the system to extinction. It has long been a bone of angry contention in Australia. Some years ago the different bodies of Presbyterians in the colony succeeded in uniting themselves into one church by making the State aid an open question. It had been a chief cause in obstructing the desired union; and even yet there are a few dissentients who can admit of no compromise with "the unclean thing." Some reject the aid.

There is, as we have said, substantial equality between the religious bodies before the State. We may, however, allude to an Imperial regulation, extending to all colonies, and allowing a certain official precedence to the chief dignitaries of the hierarchical churches, with a provision that the head of the Anglican Church was not to be preceded by that of any other body, notwithstanding any higher title to the latter. Even this defection from the level had not escaped the eyes of the colonists, rendered more sensitive on such points by the late democratic developments. In 1862 the New South Wales Assembly passed a resolution expressing a hope that a principle of entire equality as between all religious bodies in the colony might be substituted. The Duke of Newcastle replies (1st October, 1862) that Her Majesty will not be advised to Religious equalities.

alter the arrangement in question. He expresses regret that the Assembly should question the Queen's decision "on matters falling so peculiarly within the scope of the Royal Prerogative, and so little affecting the substantial welfare of the people." The regulation, he adds, is one of the colonial empire, and the Queen is not disposed either to alter that rule or to make New South Wales an exception to that rule. To this country, which composes itself over Protestant supremacy in Ireland, it must seem a very indifferent matter that a Church of England bishop takes a step in advance of a Presbyterian Moderator. But the question has a good deal in it to a colonist; and the Right Honourable Secretary may hardly realize how he tramps the toes of his tender colonial subjects.

Religious bodies, and the State.

In the colony, then, all religious bodies are, with regard to the civil power, essentially in the position of any other bodies. They are simply associations or corporations formed for purposes specified, and they may exist by right either of general mutual binding, or of an Act of the Colonial Legislature to deal with those who place themselves within its jurisdiction. Religious bodies may thus exercise discipline, suspend or depose their clergy, or inflict deprivation of membership; and the adjudication in all cases may rest within each respective body, provided the clauses of its deed are quite full and clear as to the internal tribunal, and provided that its members have submitted to them. From some recent cases in dispute, we are not unfamiliar with a similar relationship of things religious amongst our home dissenting bodies, such as the Free Church of Scotland, and the French Protestant Church in London, which latter, on a late occasion, failed to

eject one of her pastors, through the imperfect definition, in her constitutional documents, of the judicature within the religious body. Of course these religious bodies—the dissenting section at home, and all in common in the colony, have no authority outside their respective communions. The home case differs from that of the colony, in that it presents one religious body as exercising general authority, and serves to show that the Home Government has an ecclesiastical as well as a civil administration.

Church of England in the Colony.

We shall allude here in particular to the position of the Church of England in Victoria, and in Australia generally, as it is rather interesting in several respects, and as her case will serve to illustrate that of the other bodies. She is by far the largest religious body in these colonies, and in Victoria receives about £23,000 yearly out of the whole State aid of £50,000. As the established religion of the empire, having also the further prestige of a royal nomination of her bishops, the Church of England naturally accompanies the civil power into the colonies, and there lays out its parishes, establishes its registers, and otherwise as by inheritance takes the usual precedence. This religious position may continue indefinitely in those provinces that never emerge from the political condition of "Crown colonies," but where representative Legislatures are established, the colonial tendencies usually put an end to such religious inequality.

Crown and free colonies.

India a crown colony.

India is an example of the one case, and Australia of the other. A small but significant sign as to the religious supremacies of the former is given in some late Indian news which mention that the Bishop of Calcutta, in November last, had left that city "under the usual salute" for his first visitation as metropolitan

of the dioceses of Madras, Bombay, and Colombo.* In Australia the sound of such a public demonstration in such a cause would have astounded the co-ordinate religious bodies of the community almost as much as if a cannon-ball of the occasion had by some invidious-looking accident tumbled into one of their churches.

New South Wales also, in 1836.

We have seen, however, in the case of New South Wales, that even while still a Crown colony, its Government will pass an Act introducing substantial equality between the religious bodies. Each case is more or less modified by its own circumstances. We may even suppose that a free Legislature might, if so willed, rear up an Established Church within its jurisdiction, and that the Home Government might acquiesce if the church in question were that of England, although what it might do if it were some other church would be a perplexity. But the case is only imaginary, as the tendencies of those British colonial populations that have been entrusted with self-government are all in the opposite direction in religious affairs.

Political grades of colonies.

There are two stages of departure from the Crown colony to the free colony. The first is where the Legislature is composed partly of Crown nominees as well as of popular representatives, the former being in the light of a guarantee taken by the Home Government that the Legislature will work with an executive not responsible to it. Such was the position of Australia until seven years since. The second stage is where there is a thoroughly Parliamentary Government with responsible ministries, as now in Australia. The first or transition stage might be viewed as a sort of doubtful ground, to which more or less of a church system might still hang in a colony, the nominee element being of course the

* The "Times," 14th Dec., 1863; its corr. letter, 8th Nov.

hope in this case, as it might have in the main a Church of England feeling, or at least be indisposed for the colony to quit the home model in general. It might, at any rate, be hoped that colonial Legislatures in this stage might permit of legislation at home upon the Church of England in the colonies. These considerations have led to efforts being made within the colony for securing to the Anglican Church some predominant authority, and also to attempts at home to legislate for the Church in the colonies. In neither case was there success, but both may be alluded to.

Attempted Colonial Legislation for the Church.

Firstly, the Bishop of Melbourne, about two years after his arrival at his diocese in 1848, endeavoured to obtain for the purposes of his Church two Acts of the Colonial Legislature, then seated at Sydney, namely, the Church Temporalities Act, and the Church Discipline Act; the latter the most important, as comprising, in fact, some of the general powers of a civil Government, such as compulsory summoning of witnesses, and administering of oaths. These propositions, as they caused much opposition in the Port Phillip District, even amongst the Episcopalians themselves, who had not been previously consulted on the subject, and as they were promised no favour in the Legislature, were withdrawn.

Attempted Imperial Legislation.

Secondly, the position of the Church of England in the colonies attracted considerable attention in this country ten or twelve years ago. It was essential, or at least very desirable, for her interests, to preserve uniformity of action in the Church over the world. But how could this be assured if in each colony the respective bodies of members busied themselves in framing rules, either according to their own notions, and the

local circumstances, or as they might succeed in securing local Acts from the miscellaneous Legislatures of the different colonies. Mr. Gladstone therefore contemplated, in the year 1852, to pass through the Imperial Parliament a general measure under whose authority the Church of England in all the colonies might act in one prescribed manner. This project, meeting opposition, as being of too interfering a character towards the colonies, was abandoned, and a like fate attended a simpler measure introduced with the same views two years later. This last proposed measure had indeed almost passed the House of Commons, when it too was at length given up, under a feeling that any interference whatever in their local affairs would be apt to be resented by the colonies.

Position in Victoria by Colonial Act.

It only remained therefore for the Anglican body in the provinces to turn to the authorities proper to each colony. Accordingly, in the year 1854, an Act of the Legislature of Victoria was obtained, constituting the Church of England in that colony a legally recognized body, with its own tribunal and disciplinary and other powers over its own members and clergy. In order to preserve the identity of the colonial with the home Church, it was necessary that this colonial arrangement should be sanctioned by the Sovereign. There was, however, a difficulty at this stage, and chiefly from the circumstance that the colonial measure had transgressed upon home precedents in authorizing the summoning of lay as well as clerical representatives to the colonial Convocation—an arrangement that seems to be suitable and necessary to the spirit of a colonial society. Some delay took place, but eventually a ratifying Act of Parliament was passed, and assented to in 1856; and in October of that year the first Assembly

of the Anglican Church of Victoria took place.* Subsequently in Tasmania the Church of England adopted a similar method by means of an Act of the colony's Legislature, while in South Australia the other mode of a consensual arrangement was preferentially adopted.

Colonial Bishop's rank.

In the recent great extension of the Church's episcopate throughout our colonies, and other parts outside of England, it was sought to maintain as much as possible the high dignity of the appointment. Accordingly, in the smallest as well as the greatest colony, in Central Africa as well as in Australia, the bishop is "my lord," as he is in England. But there are other bishops in our colonies; we have a Roman Catholic as well as an Anglican Bishop of Melbourne, and by the liberality and courtesy of the times, at least, if not by the law, the title of "my lord" is awarded to both.

Roman Catholic bishops.

Colonial Episcopate: Income and sources.

In former years, when the colonial empire consisted much more than at present of the comparatively docile governments of Crown colonies, it was customary, on sending forth a bishop, to give him, by Imperial authority, a certain provision out of the colony's revenue. Colonies that acquired representative Legislatures soon eliminated these episcopal allowances from their public expenditure accounts. The same course has latterly been taken by the Imperial Parliament, whose accounts were wont to present a sprinkling of appropriations for colonial bishops' salaries, and whose yearly estimates

* At the meeting of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," in London, on the 9th February, 1864, the Bishop of Melbourne gave a full explanation of the position of his church in Victoria. There is an assembly consisting of all the clergy and of lay representatives elected by the members of the Church of England in the parishes. These two classes discuss together, but vote separately. The Church's temporal affairs are managed by a council selected from, and subject to, the Assembly.

still bring before each session a small and lingering remnant of the old system. The colonial bishops are now for the most part paid either out of the State aid, common to all sects, as in Victoria, or from the private subscriptions of their co-religionists in the colonies or in this country. The Colonial Bishoprics' Fund, which represents a substantial amount collected in England within the last twenty-five years, is largely instrumental in endowing the poorer bishoprics of colonies, or supplementing their other resources. This aid is awarded sometimes by annual payments, at others by the payment of a principal sum, which is invested in the colony for income. Thus the bishopric of Tasmania, which was lately vacated by its bishop for a home rectorship, derived, along with £1000 a year from colonial sources, a further £400 as the interest of £5000 contributed from the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund. The bishopric of Adelaide, in South Australia, where the State aid has been abolished, is endowed from this fund with £240 a year, besides the interest of no less than £13,240, granted from the same bountiful source, and invested in the colony.* The episcopal incomes are somewhat unequal, and often but little encouraging. The Australian and Tasmanian sees, numbering seven in all, are tolerably, though by no means over, provided for, with from above £1000 to £2000 a year. We should except that of West Australia, a poor see, and only to be classed with the five others that already pertain to New Zealand, whose average income is but £500 a year.

Education, the State, and Religion.

The battle of education in the colony, which had

* See Parliamentary Paper, No. 475, year 1862.

been carried on for more than eleven years, ended in 1862 in the adoption of a national system. With her separate Legislature, that succeeded the secession from New South Wales in 1851, Victoria then formally constituted the national system, which, until that date, had hardly existed in the district in a feeble emanation from the central seat at Sydney. But from the first at Port Phillip the ground had been occupied by the denominational system, which, under a Board of management of its own, had been long subsidized by the Government. Thus when the national system began, it had to face a powerful rival. The new system had a board, too, like its rival, and also received public aid according to its efficiency and progress.

Two systems until 1862.

There were thus two different education boards, and two quite different systems recognized by the Government, and receiving public aid at the same time. No doubt this objectionable position had been caused by the action of the Government itself, which had, as it were, broken into the scene of denominational teaching—that of each religious body separately—with a bone of contention in the shape of a general or national system for all sects alike. This consideration brings us to the question of principle as to the distribution of the State's funds. Of course the State's interference here with educational system arises only where its funds are needed and applied for. When it gives these funds for education, shall it take precautions that they are expended simply in education, and not in more or less degree in denominationalism—that is, in a diversity of religious teaching, with which the State, as a civil institution on behalf of all alike, has nothing to do? The tendency of colonial views seems decidedly to this non-denominational course; and it was therefore, on that account alone, and

A national system.

apart from more general considerations, to be regarded as the system proper to the colony. It is not, however the system of the mother-country. The Home Government, indeed, have introduced a national system into Ireland; but as to England and Scotland, the basis of the system supported by the public money is essentially denominational. Such a system of education is at least more in consonance with the religious aspects of the home case—the State Church Establishments of England and Scotland—than it is with those of the colony.

Its advantages.

Such may be distinguished as the argument on principle in favour of the national system. The argument on expediency will be accounted more indisputable, as it concerns the effective and economical establishment of schools, by combining all the children of particular districts under one teacher, instead of encouraging the wasteful and often impossible efforts of each religious body to separately educate its own youth. And ought it to be matter of indifference that those young people, who are afterwards as adults to meet one another constantly in the public and private business of life, should miss the earlier opportunity of laying the foundations of a mutual interest in and friendship for one another?

The Act of 1862

Although the national system has made progress, and at a greater rate proportionately than its rival, it is even yet the less diffused of the two, or rather it was in this inferior position up to the time of the decisive change introduced by Mr. Heales' Education Act of 1862, by which the two boards were abolished, and one general and national system introduced, under the control of a single board. The measure is general and national in the sense of providing that the public money

shall be expended in imparting secular and unsectarian teaching during certain hours of each school-day (the Act specifies four hours), without, however, interfering with any other or further teaching that the different parents or clergy may deem desirable.

Denominational opposition.

This Act was the consummation of many previous plans and efforts which had proved abortive. The latest of these was known as Mr. Fellows' Act of 1860, which we allude to here, as its main object was similar to that of Mr. Heales. The national system was opposed by the clergy generally, who, as being almost exclusively of home rearing, had tended to maintain in the colony the home denominational views, and it was opposed also by the almost undivided body of the Roman Catholic colonists. We have already alluded to the trial of strength that came off in the Colonial Assembly in the month of May, 1862, as a preliminary to Mr. Heales' measure. That body, as representing the public generally, disposed of the question in the following manner. The motion of Mr. Heales in favour of the national system was affirmed by thirty-four votes against twenty-three; while that for the permissive continuance of denominationalism made by Mr. O'Shanassy, who agreed in this particular with the predilections of his Catholic co-religionists, was negatived by a majority of twenty-nine votes to twenty-one.

Trial of strength.

New system at work.

The new system began with as little disturbance of that which preceded it as was consistent with the main principle at issue, that of expending the public funds on secular and not religious teaching. The board was constituted of members, some denominationally, others nationally inclined, and the first chairman, Mr. Griffiths, was of decidedly denominational antecedents. These

first appointments were made under Mr. O'Shanassy's ministry, which was not, of course, very ardent in its proceedings for overturning the old system. On the occasion of Mr. Griffiths' death in the following year, Mr. M'Culloch's ministry, which had by that time come into power, conferred the vacant chair, as might have been expected, on one of opposite views, namely, Sir J. F. Palmer, whose antecedents were as decidedly the one way as his predecessor's were the other.

The rival systems before 1862.

Regarding the relative position as between national and denominational in the colony just preceding the alteration of system, we may state that for the year 1861, while the national pupils numbered 13,869, the denominational amounted to 37,476. The Government aid to the first was £24,907, and to its greater rival, £80,827, making a total of £105,734, while the private payments for the same year had amounted to £56,183. Where the two Boards are still in operation, the relative position of the respective systems, as indicated by the number of scholars and amount of State aid in 1862, is as follows:—Denominational, 18,584, for whom the State aid amounted to £32,370; national, 13,446, whose aid was £30,936. The total cost of educating the former appeared to be £2 11*s.* 3*d.* per pupil, and the latter the larger sum of £3 2*s.* 3*d.*

National education in Tasmania.

The national system may now be regarded as general in Australia. In Tasmania it has been in operation for about six years, and seems to have worked successfully. "The religious difficulty," which had so constantly interposed in Victoria and New South Wales to prevent the amalgamation of the rival boards, appears not to have been felt. The system in Tasmania with those schools that are aided by the State

comprises one hour daily (the first hour of school) devoted to unsectarian religious teaching. From this teaching, however, parents may keep back their children, sending them only to the subsequent secular instruction, or during the same hour the children of the particular persuasion may be seen by their own clergyman. The practice is to choose a Protestant teacher, if there is a majority of Protestant pupils, and a Catholic teacher in the opposite case. Any proselytizing attempts are strictly forbidden, and no instance of this kind seems ever to have occurred.*

Limited extent of education.

The great object of the different colonial Governments in these contentious arrangements, namely, the imparting to the youth of their respective societies the elements of a useful education, has not yet been attained to a satisfactory extent. New South Wales, as the Registrar-General's report for 1862 states, has but fifty-four per cent. of the boys and girls of an educable age in the colony under tuition. The proportion of pupils receiving instruction to the whole population is as one to a little less than nine; while Victoria's account for 1861 is, to some fractional extent, even less favourable, being as one to nine. But, doubtless, there is a progress in this, as in so much else that is good and promising in these colonies. Meanwhile, they must be content to stand considerably behind other colonial examples. Take Canada for one instance. Lower Canada, indeed, exhibits only one pupil to eight of population, but in Upper Canada, which, like Australia, is occupied almost entirely by the English people, there is the unsurpassed proportion of one to four. Every youth of the State seems, in fact, to be under instruction, and more than three-fourths of

In New South Wales,

and Victoria.

Example of Canada.

* See Appendix D, as to precautions in Victoria.

the common schools have, by the action of the rate-payer, been made free.

Melbourne University.

Unsectarian foundation.

With these colonial tendencies in religion and education, one need hardly remark that a Victorian university is not likely to have any sectarian character. The Melbourne institution, then, is open to all without distinction of religious creed. This University, which was founded in the year 1853, at the instance of Mr. Childers, M.P., then a member of the colony's administration, is now in a highly promising position as to public usefulness, with its means for imparting a finished education, and its degrees that take rank with those of home universities. Few features of the colony are more suggestive than this one to bring before us the rapid attainments of so young a community. On a site where but a few years ago the Australian savage was still lord and master, there are now classical and historical, literary and scientific professorships, and the fullest opportunities to the ambition and talents of the colonial youth to place themselves, in the new world, abreast of the attainments of the old.

Professorships, etc.

The University was opened to students in the year 1856. The building is surrounded by an area of forty acres of ground, tastefully laid out, and it contains the museum belonging to the colony, as well as that of the University. A yearly endowment of £9000 has been provided out of the public revenue, and is in addition to private payments. There are four professorial chairs—namely, of philology and logic, of mathematics, of natural science, and of history and political economy—and an income of £1000 a year is

attached to each, besides accommodation in the building for each occupant.*

Increasing success.

For several years the colony poorly encouraged its University, and seemed as though, in its practical and plodding mood, it were disposed to think that money could be made, and life enjoyed, pretty much as well without as with this ambitious addition to colonial resources. In the year 1859 there were but thirteen matriculated students, but in the following year they had increased to twenty-seven, besides forty-eight unmatriculated. This increase has been maintained, and in 1863 there were fifty-six matriculated, and forty-eight unmatriculated students. The Imperial Government have lately conceded to the degrees of this institution, as well as of its sister of Sydney, a status of equality with those of the home universities.

A personal retrospect.

About twenty years ago the author happened to return late one evening from the house of a friend situated several miles in a northerly direction out of Melbourne. It was quite dark, being near midnight, as he approached the town. There were no gas lamps in those pristine days, nor, indeed, lamps of any kind, and the roads from the nascent metropolis still partook mainly of the random character of "bush tracks." Feeling, therefore, rather uncertain of his whereabouts, he betook himself to a source of information that was all of a piece with other characteristics of that early date of the settlement. This was the encampment of a tribe of aborigines, to which he had been guided by the fires that flickered in front of their

* The present Professors are: Martin Henry Irving (Philology and Logic), William Parkinson Wilson (Mathematics), Frederick McCoy (Natural Science), and William Edward Hearn (History and Political Economy).

rude wigwams. Some lay asleep, rolled up in their opossum rugs; one was sick, and a ghastly and comfortless spectacle he appeared; while others were still busy over the tobacco and other spoils of the day gathered in the town. They readily pointed out the proper direction, and Melbourne lay scarce half a mile further on. The site of that native encampment is now that of the Melbourne University. The reminiscence possesses a charm in its freshness and reality, because it is rare indeed that such extremes of condition in a country's history are brought within the compass of so few years, or even within the experience of a single life.

CHAPTER XXI.

SOCIAL FEATURES.

Colonial recreations—Cricket and its challenges; horse-racing; rifle-matching—The sportsman's range; scarcity of aboriginal game; platypus and kangaroo—The theatre—Social gaieties of Melbourne—The public meeting—Public Library—The daily press—The English language: tendencies to fixity at home, and change and progress in colonies; the causes in either case; American example; colonies' influence still future.

Recreations.

As our attention in previous chapters has been occupied with what may, more or less, be called business, we shall devote the present chapter, in the main at least, to recreation. Victoria, notwithstanding a full share of the modern ardour for commerce and enterprise, bids fairly to exemplify the common association of bright skies and a warm climate with plentiful recreation and holiday-making. The colony reproduces the sports and games and festivities of the old country, but seems to be already far ahead of the maternal example in the proportions of her recreation. Victoria presents more cricketing, and more horse-racing, even more rifle-matching and more balls and dancing than at home.

Cricket.

Let us fly, in the first place, to good old cricket, still youthful as ever in so many of its associations. This genuinely English sport, which in the mother country dates, we believe, from about ninety years back, at least according to the present rules of play,

has passed to the antipodes with even more than the full measure of the national liking. If we would assure ourselves to this effect in Victoria, we have only to watch, during an afternoon's walk in the suburbs of Melbourne, the colonial youth as they hurry eagerly from the post of business to the post of cricket. A portion of the seniors, too, follow more leisurely in the wake, for the game is not a monopoly of the young. Every Australian township strives for certain attainments, without which it is as if outside the world, and not worth living in. Thus it must have its municipality, of which there are already about sixty in Victoria, its newspaper, and its race-course; but even more essential, to the junior world at least, is its cricket-ground.

England challenged.

Some years ago, the ardent colonists had the courageous presumption to challenge "the eleven of all England," to the ordeal of cricket battle upon the Australian soil. The challenge was courteously accepted, and the challenged were safely landed in Victoria. That so great a journey, so social and fraternal in its objects, should have been accomplished only to meet defeat was an uncomfortable thought, and happily such was not the result. The English eleven met their colonial rivals at Melbourne, in January, 1862, on the occasion of the intercolonial cricket-match, at which the respective forces of New South Wales and Victoria were mustered for battle. The Victorians made an auspicious beginning by beating the New South Wales players, but the English successively vanquished both. The scene was now transferred to Sydney, where there was again a series of contests, and where again is old England the victor, and by large counts. But there is one last chance. The two colonies combine their strength; they draw their princes of cricketdom; and they beat the

foe. The battle was only barely won, yet won it was. Who could have wished a different or a happier result? The apt young pupil is so well taught in his finishing lessons that he at last beats his master.

Challenged again.

Another of England's many elevens has again adventured to Victoria, under another challenge, to sustain or repair the national fame. The party sailed in the steamship "Great Britain" in October last (1863).* There is yet another rival party coming upon the horizon, which may some of these days furnish its formidable elevens. The aboriginal natives have entered with ardour into cricket. The aborigines of the river Lachlan are already players. They are described as sure at the bat and capital at blocking, with their keen eyesight. They have a remarkable way of running, in keeping near to the ground, with the legs sent forward and the body erect; and while very nimble at their work, they are also frugal of their strength in never taking a step beyond the distance actually necessary.

Aboriginal native cricketing.

The races.

Quiet England would be astounded at the commotion caused in Australia by the races. Relatively speaking, Ascot and Epsom fall far short of Melbourne or Ballarat. "What is that long line of dust thrown up westwards from the city?" might some arriving emigrant exclaim, as his vessel cast anchor in Hobson's Bay, on some bright summer day. That is literally all Melbourne pouring out for the race-course, and all Melbourne will be fully absorbed for the three days of actual racing, and for something more besides. "No business this week," say the market reports, "being race week."

Absorbing interest.

* They arrived safely at Melbourne in December, and, with a multitudinous and enthusiastic welcome, were conveyed through the city to their hotel in a carriage and six.

Horse racing challenge.

The colonial challenge is not confined to cricket. Victoria has lately offered to enter the lists against England, with the race-horse also. The terms are indicative of no small colonial confidence, being to the effect that the race shall be run in the colony between English racers imported for the purpose, and those of colonial breed, and for the substantial stakes of £10,000.

Boat racing contest.

We observe, too, a late Anglo-Australian contest in this country in the classic midland English sport of boat-racing, and that the run came off upon the well-known and well-furrowed line above Putney. Green against Chambers, represented a son of Port Jackson, against a son of old Father Thames. The sprightly junior took the lead, exciting a momentary hope as he dashed a boat's-length ahead. But this effort was not maintained. The stamina and steady pull of the Englishman were admirable, and secured the run by a long distance.*

Rifle matches.

We observe that matches at rifle-shooting between these remote brotherhoods are also in progress. This challenging of the old country by the colonial juniors seems quite the order of the day in the world of recreation.

Sportsman's field.

Let us turn to another form of Australian pastime. The sportsman grasps his rifle, and gallops off to a kangaroo or an emu hunt, or he joins the regular meet for the chase and extirpation of the native dog, an untameable foe to the flocks of the colonist, and everywhere proscribed in the interests alike of business and recreation. But these the more prominent objects, together with most other objects and features of aboriginal Australia, retreat annually further from colonization; and annually must the Australian sportsman go

* Green early showed much distress, arising, as afterwards appeared, from cramps that had seized him.

further and further off, in order to encounter the objects of his exertion and amusement.

Aboriginal game now rare.

Less than twenty years ago we needed but to step outside of Melbourne to meet some of Australia's chiefest marvels. The emu, which ran over the site of the city, and still lingered upon the grassy downs of the open forest lands around for a year or two after the colonial occupation, is now rare even in remote parts of the colony. The equally rare black cockatoo I have myself seen, in half dozens together, perched upon the indigenous trees of the present Royal Park on the north-western outskirts of the city. A still rarer and more interesting spectacle was in almost as close a vicinity, for the platypus, in these early times, sported in the water-holes of the tributary creeks of the Yarra, near Melbourne.* About this time, too, the mouth of the Yarra swarmed with pelicans, all of which have since disappeared, as well as the black swans that might have been caught on the Mud Flats, as well as at other parts of Port Phillip.

The platypus.

Kangaroo scarce.

The large kangaroo, the "old man," as he is called, timorous of every unwonted sound that enters his large erected ears, has been chased far from every busy seat of colonial industry. The last of these Australian denizens that came in my own way, jumped from his covert close to the noisy scene of an Australian gold-field. It gave a picture of charming contrast, but such as

* Visiting my friend, Dr. Drummond, on one occasion about twenty years since, at his residence, Drumearn, on the Merri Creek, between two and three miles from Melbourne, we descended to a water-hole at the foot of the garden, in the hope of seeing a platypus. We were not disappointed, for one of these most extraordinary of creatures rose shortly in the midst of the pond, and sported for some time before us.

was possible only to the days of the first rush of gold-digging, which, a dozen years ago, would present some one locality everywhere occupied and upturned by busy thousands, close alongside of another that still enjoyed the silence of an untrodden waste. The scared creature bounded over an adjacent hillock, from whose crest as our party followed, we could see the outskirts of one of the Mount Alexander gold-fields, between two and three miles distant.

Superabundant in some parts.

In various outlying parts of the colony, however, the Goliath of Australian quadrupeds is more numerous and less easily disturbed. Semi-gregarious in its habits, the wary observer may often espy a company of a dozen or so occupying a small glade of the forest, and sitting in a wide circle, erect and grave, like a council of elderly senators. The diminishing numbers of the aboriginal natives, and the gradual destruction of the mischievous dingo, or native dog, allow the kangaroo, in many places, not merely to exist, but even to increase its numbers. The wooded and grassy districts in the western parts of the colony have so swarmed with kangaroo as to induce the settlers there to endeavour to kill them by wholesale, even although for no other object than that of saving the grass. To maintain their huge paunch and terrific tail, they eat as much grass as three sheep. Sir R. G. MacDonnell, the late governor of South Australia, alludes, in his recent interesting lecture at Dublin, to a squatting friend in Victoria, who estimated his loss in grass by the kangaroo upon his run at £800 a year, and who, to get rid of such costly adjuncts to his flocks, arranged a general massacre, in which about a thousand of them were actually clubbed to death. To the new order that has invaded her territory, aboriginal Australia might reasonably plead for

A kangaroo massacre.

grass to her kangaroo, as well as land reserves to her native tribes. What is one man's food is another man's poison. When, in so many parts of Australia, all that is aboriginal is regretfully hastening away, there is surely a sad contrast in this deliberate havoc.

The theatre flourishes in Victoria, for its entertainments extend to a fair array of even the secondary towns. Melbourne possesses two theatres, a Royal and a Haymarket, both of them of no mean dimensions, even for London itself. The theatre is held in high honour, if we may judge from the fact that the most conspicuous and successful local performer of his day had retired, not into the repose of private life, but into another public arena of a different kind—namely, the Upper House of the Colonial Parliament. The theatre.

The resident stars of the capital make their tours of the provincial stage; but the capital itself has an attractive encouragement sufficient even at the distance of a semi-circle of the earth, for the old world's celebrities. As the Melbourne streets, very soon after the gold discoveries, swarmed with German musical bands, and Italian organ grinders, so the Melbourne stage was trodden by the distinguished of the outside world. Even Lola Montes, a bright, but very wandering star, sought the profitable variety of a Melbourne season; and the last mail from the antipodes describes the successful appearance of more worthy successors, in the persons of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean.

Melbourne still resounds with the description of her mayor's great fancy dress ball of September last, and its fifteen hundred guests and upwards, arrayed with diversified splendour, in the attire of most of the ages and peoples of the world. His worship, unlike too many Mayor of Melbourne's fancy dress ball.

examples nearer home, considerately allowed to the dress-making community six weeks of preparation for the grand occasion. These lively demonstrations were still prolonged by the return festivities with which the citizens soon after responded to the mayor's munificent hospitalities.

Government-house ball.

But these public mayoral entertainments on so comprehensive a scale, are not the regular colonial feature, but rather, as it were, the casual oasis in life's desert. The permanent green valley of consolation of this kind is the Government-house ball. Her Majesty's birthday is commonly the surpassing effort of yearly display in this way. A society like that of Victoria, of considerable breadth, and decidedly democratic, is not to be amicably dealt with on very exclusive social principles. A colonial governor, therefore, must throw open, widely as well as frequently, the portals of his drawing-room. Fortunately for him the merciful phraseology of an "at home," with its pleasant compensatory visions, is still applied to much of this interminable publicity of life. The invitations fly far and wide, and a fair expectant in the remote bush must not be overlooked any more than another who is only across the road. It is long, indeed, since a thousand invitations failed to satisfy the case. If, in their gradual increase since, they are doubled by this time, the governor for the time being has at least the consolation of knowing that these social enjoyments are of a less arduous character to himself than they are likely to prove to his successor.

Public meetings.

Assemblages of another kind still more characterize the colony. These are public meetings. Everything must be done by a public meeting, from the establishing of a political constitution down to that of a bank or a

gas company. If anything has the stamp of the "hole-and-corner" origin it is doomed. Latterly the colony has, perhaps, been rising a little out of this meeting mania in regard to affairs of mere private joint-stock enterprise. In times of parliamentary elections or political excitement, public meetings are incessant, and one may wonder, or admire, to see the unfagging interest of the people who gather together by night or by day, through wet or through dry, for discussion during several hours at a time upon public questions. On many of these occasions the working classes appear to advantage. They are generally the great proportion of the auditory, and a very considerable section of the speakers. They are always heartily earnest, often original as well as practical in their views, and ever welling forth a fund of suggestion derived from experience and observation of the circumstances around them.

Public Library and Reading-room.

From the public meeting let us pass to "The Public Library and Reading-room." Here we have a spacious edifice, although still unfinished, according to the original plan. In general there is a large attendance of the public—a suitable response to the admirable arrangements, by which there is not only free admission to this noble public institution, but the utmost possible facility and freedom to all visitors in their selections and studies, to an extent indeed that, as the colony may justly boast, is seldom approached in like institutions elsewhere.

The public library was inaugurated under Mr. La Trobe's Government in 1853, by a vote of £4000 for books and an edifice. This sum was doubled in the following year, and subsequently much larger amounts were added. It was opened in 1856 by the Acting Governor, General Macarthur. In 1863 there had been already

expended £40,000 upon the building, and £30,000 upon the library. The present accommodations include an entrance-hall, fifty feet square, a fine-arts chamber, fifty-five feet by fifty feet, filled with statuary, and the reading-room, which is one hundred and forty-five feet by fifty feet, with thirty-four feet of height, and capable of accommodating from three to four hundred persons at a time. Even as we write, the edifice and its varied contents are receiving still further additions.

The daily press.

From the public library we pass to the public newspaper. Here we enter a world of its own kind. Not merely Melbourne, but even the larger provincial towns have each daily papers, some of them more than one. Melbourne has three such, besides many weekly publications, including two illustrated papers, and a Melbourne "Punch." One of these daily papers represents in the colony the penny press, now so important in this country. The two others maintain still the aristocratic position as at home, of a threepenny price. The expansion of the Australian newspaper press was so great ten years ago, as to mark one of the eras of disturbance in the paper trade, and to cause for a time a sensible rise of price.*

"The Sydney Morning Herald."

"The Sydney Morning Herald" long held the foremost position of the Australian newspaper press, but with the forward rush of Victoria to the first rank in the group, her press shared in the general Victorian premiership, and for more than ten years past the coveted supremacy in question has been wielded by the Melbourne "Argus."

The "Argus."

The "Argus" is the "Times" of the south. So rapid was its rise in the earlier years of the great gold-mining development that the young southerner seemed

* See the "Stationer" for 10th June, 1861.

to be surely squaring up with its northern prototype, and was even suspected of an ambitious notion that, at the speed rate of the day, even the "Times" itself might, in a few years, be left behind. A daily circulation of twenty thousand and upwards had been quickly attained, and there was a supplement to the customary double sheet, and sometimes even a double supplement. But these times in Victoria were all too fast for permanency. They were the days of £500 rent for a very ordinary dwelling, and of £5000 a year as a very ordinary income. The more sober age that has now set in finds the "Argus" still in the van, with a daily circulation of between eight and nine thousand copies, while that of the "Sydney Herald" may come within one-fourth of its rival's number.

Improved daily press.

The literary position of the press of Victoria has greatly improved with the advance of the colony. The expansion of the social surface has diversified the objects of attention, and has tended to extinguish personalities, much as the extent of London puts an end to gossip, even as to that mythic personage the next door neighbour, who is generally never seen and always unknown. In its political aspect the press is greatly improved since the era of self-government by the substitution, for constant, and, as it were, matter of course attacks upon the Imperial administration, of the system of party warfare within its own society. Whatever of the undesirable there is in some of the aspects of political party, its existence is the evidence at once of the public's interest in its own questions, and of a more or less thorough understanding of them; and, above all, it is the highest evidence of a condition of civil liberty.

Mr. Max Müller, in his inquiries about language,

English language, Colonial divergencies.

might find a subject in anticipating the differences that are possibly to arise in the English of Australia, as compared with the English of England. The great separating distance, the new features, the varied circumstances of the offshoot, would cause a gradual departure, and at last a distinguishable dialect, were it not for the counteracting effects of postal improvements, interminable intercourse, and a mutual deluge of periodical literature. Nevertheless, there are differences, and I was interested in experiencing one of them myself, some years ago, when just returned to this country, with all the colonial impressions full upon me. Take the word "respectable." Here, in common business speech, it conveys the notion of means; in the colony, where means and a livelihood are a less absorbing consideration, the word lingers upon a nobler threshold. Having occasion, along with a friend, to make arrangements for a funeral, we had instructed the undertaker with various particulars, and were about to leave. But the tradesman's inquiring look told that something was still wanting. My friend caught it. "A respectable funeral," said he. As he uttered the words, my colonial mind conjured up a long line of illustrious mourners, venerable patriots, thus paying the last tribute to the departed. But the inspiring vision was only for an instant, for as my companion repeated the guiding word with slow emphasis to the readily apprehending undertaker, I could see that there was nothing but a question of account, a funeral to cost twenty pounds instead of twenty shillings.

New words.

Lowly and vulgar-looking expressions acquire currency; they fight their upward way into the received language, and once received, they enrich it. America has as yet more authority in such cases than our smaller

colonial society. We shall not be long now, perhaps, of admitting the Americanism "posted," vulgar as its first aspect has been to us. "You are well *posted*" is English, while "*au fait*," which the new term displaces, is not English. An Australian term similarly struggling, and possibly near the surface, is "lots." Surely this word arose in Australia, if we may judge at all by relative prevalency. We suppose it to be a transference from the auction-room. In the fluctuating and impatient colonial market, a vast amount of all kinds of property changes ownership under the summary hammer. Lots one to a million; lots of this, lots of that. Everything is in lots, and the daily crowd gazes upon lots of everything. So "lots" comes to signify that irrepressible supply that the ready broker will ever find for the appreciative bidder. But the word, raw and recent as it still looks, has already ascended from the colonial streets to the colonial drawing-room, where it tumbles out of fair lips with a copiousness of use that we may hope will at least soon free it from its still upstart character.

Home exclusion and fixity.

Mr. Müller, again, tells us that the written tongue of a people is apt to become fixed, while the popular-spoken dialect goes on progressing with the masses, and gradually diverging into a more perfect, or at least a more suitable, and eventually a different language. That is the old experience, and let us apply it to the modern case. The modern parallels are the mother country and the colony. The one with the tendencies to fixity in her tongue, the other with the dialectical divergences. In the former the destinies of the language are held in the firm grasp of the cultivated part of society; and there are, therefore, all the disadvantages of this position—the conservative tendencies acquired

from a comprehensive and critical knowledge of the actual speech, and an instinctive proscription of innovation.

Colonial changes. Causes.

In a colony the case is considerably different. Class or family position goes for little upon the new and non-traditional scene, and the status given by a finished education does not over-ride any evident superiorities of natural talent that can adapt themselves to public usefulness. Everywhere, therefore, the self-made man comes to the surface. He owes little to education, or at least to education in any other language than his own. He is, consequently, English throughout. The *au fait*, the *tout ensemble*, and the *coup d'œil*, the *à priori*, the *cæteris paribus*, and the *statu quo*—these and scores of other foreign terms, whose importation, to the eventual detriment of his own tongue, the scholar has been unable to resist, are gradually eliminated from the field. The fluency of the colonial debater, and the wants of his subject, are a constant strain upon the analogies of his English for the construction of fresh words. Thus the tendencies are at once towards a more copious speech and a purer English, a more consistent idiom and a more regular grammar.

Instance of America.

We are already familiar with some of these tendencies in the case of America, which, with reference to our present subject, may be regarded as one huge British colony, or series of colonies. The diversities of the American case would have been by this time far more conspicuous than they are, were it not that, representing as the States do a commanding power of civilized society, they have, after a time, drawn their conservative mother along with them in most of their innovations; for her conservatism is really less that of will and design than of instincts. Thus many compo-

site words, much wanted by our society in its advanced civilization, have come to us from America; such as, to progress, to advocate, to demoralize, to memorialize, and many others whose use across the Atlantic was at first the occasion of outcry and ridicule in this country. Many may remember the word "indebtedness" coming into use in the States, and its being thrust authoritatively upon us in presidential messages; and many may also be aware how much more we objected to it at first than we do now. Even now we experience an ear-grating as we read, in congressional affairs, of "the *passage* of a bill." The conservatism of high education would probably never have quitted the accustomed "*passing*," for although the latter word is, in this use, a lame result of lingual accidents, yet it had become the established word for the purpose.

American example powerful.

There seems to us of late quite a race of development in our language in America, whether it be special to the present stirring incidents there, or is only the common feature, of which we are for the time more particularly observant. Certainly our interest in the American civil war leads to an unusually extensive and attentive study of the American literature of the hour—that of the daily press, and the speeches of public men, which are ever the chief manufactory of language; and thus we are in the way of receiving an increased share of this exuberance into our own English. An American paragraph, now before me, speaks of a person who, in running across a street in New York, *collided* with an omnibus; and the other day a public personage in the Federal States, alluding to the available supply of military officers, spoke of some who were in *retiracy*. Who can doubt the use and advantage of these words, says the Englishman, if they did but belong to our

language? And why should they not be put there if they are wanting, seeing they are within the analogies of our speech? Some tongue or pen must act in the matter, as the words will certainly not walk in of themselves.

Home opposing influences.

Here is just the difficulty with a language that, as in Britain, is not only a written one, but is held, as it were, in command by a cultivated class. Well educated, well read, those who have mainly controlled the language in this country, have also well mastered it. They know so well all its words, that a new term gives a mental revulsion, and is set down as a symptom of either ignorance, or the want of skill and choice. There is great power in dealing with the language as it is, but extension is insufferable. The capital stock account is closed, as far as these high proprietors of the tongue are concerned; and when reluctantly reopened, it is only upon pressure from without, and when some word, howsoever or whencesoever derived, is undoubtedly, by the decisive test of common use, already a part of the language.

Colonial influence is yet future.

America, then, is acting upon us, in regard to language, somewhat as our colonies will do when they attain an equal importance in the world. The latter, when their time comes, will most likely act in this respect still more powerfully than the former, because we at home go direct to their newspapers and other literature, instead of restricting our reading, as is mostly the case with American affairs, to Anglified filtrations through "our own correspondent," and our home newspaper comments. Some time ago, I noticed that an intelligent Victorian statesman, in addressing the colony's Parliament, spoke of the "practicalities" of a question. No word is more wanted. Neverthe-

less, some of the local press were promptly upon him to criticize this display of ignorance of the contents of his own language, the word not being traceable in any of the dictionaries. So much the worse for the dictionaries. We have noticed the obnoxious term since then in an article of a leading home paper, although we cannot at all aver that the influence of Victorian precedent put it there.

Language—its accidents and changes.

Such are linguistic accidents. Words are floated off in the bustle or tustle of life, either to sink or to swim, and colonies, or such new societies, are the ever fertile fields of such production. To be sure, there is a certain disadvantage in a language being ever making and never made. It is like a colonial township, with edges ever ragged, and boundaries never settled. But this is no more than a reflection of society itself. Nor does this war of words and forms prevent an adequate apparatus of suitable language from being always on hand for each passing age. The case has some analogies to that of Mr. Darwin's system of struggling nature, where, in spite of countless abortion and death, there is ever maintained a substantial fabric of life. When our expanding Australia has made a few more steps towards power and influence, she too may begin, like America, to leave her impress upon her old mother. While profiting so largely by the parental example, she may herself, in her vigorous utilitarian common sense course, make returns in more affairs perhaps than those of language.

CHAPTER XXII.

POLITICAL RELATIONS OF COLONIAL SOCIETY.

Loyalty of Colonies; able and willing to provide for themselves—Society democratic; according institutions strongly cherished—The exclusive is unsuitable—Transition ordeal from old political system—Instances of public questions; immigration policy; public lands policy—Present condition of Victoria; Governor Sir H. Barkly's testimony—Imperial relations; Lord Grey on colonial policy.

Colonial loyalty.

VICTORIA, by the news of her latest mails, is just composing herself after a great commotion. She has been parting with one governor and receiving his successor. The general expression of good feeling poured forth so cordially by the colonists on the occasion of the parting festivities to Sir Henry Barkly must be largely attributed to high personal qualities; but all this noise of unanimous welcome to his successor, who is but a newly-arrived stranger, is the homage of the colony's loyal feeling to the Imperial sovereignty. The picture is pleasant to look upon, and it is a changed scene from what was wont to meet Imperial eyes. It is a happy result of that lately conceded system of self-government, which in former times has seemed a very rash and dangerous colonial policy.

Duke of Newcastle's testimony.

This change from the unsatisfactory mutual relations under the old system seems as fully realized and enjoyed at home as in the colonies. The Duke of

Newcastle, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, speaks in this manner on the subject on a late public occasion:—"We have now no discontented colonies. We hear from none of the numerous dependencies of this great empire one single word of complaint upon any important or serious question. We hear from none murmurs of disloyalty, and for this reason, not because disloyalty is repressed or suppressed, but because it does not exist."*

Colonies self-supporting.

The colonial picture from the Imperial point of view is indeed of an inspiring character. About fifty different societies and governments, scattered over every habitable latitude of the world, each of them contributing its part to the vast commerce of the empire, and many of them governing themselves by codes of laws more or less of an independent bearing, and suited to their respective circumstances, bow with loyal deference to the common Sovereign, and cling to the common nationality. The more prominent and thoroughly British colonies have long ceased to drag upon the Imperial treasury. It is the pride of some of them, and Victoria is in this smaller list, that they never cost the Imperial exchequer one farthing. Even that long-debated question of the military defence of colonies promises an early settlement, in Australia at least, and to Imperial satisfaction. Coast and harbour defences have been erected by each colony. Victoria has for some years possessed a small armed steamer purchased in this country, and she has lately ordered an additional defensive arm of the same kind; while for the New Zealand Government a war-steamer has just been constructed at Sydney. The temporary embarrassments of that Government and

* Speech at the Australian anniversary dinner in London, 12th February, 1862.

colony; in consequence of the aboriginal native insurrection, have called up the sympathies of the Australian sister settlements, whose volunteering bands have given the best evidence of what may be expected from them in any time of need in their own colonies, by passing over in thousands, at the critical moment, to assist in the actual battle-field of their neighbour.

Care for their own welfare.

Nor is the view in all these respects less satisfactory when taken from the colonial stand-point. Let us direct our attention specially to Victoria, and regard all the busy life of her community. Her telegraphs, railways and roads run over what were the empty wastes of a few years back; and her great import and export commerce rank her as a principal member upon the long Imperial list—not the less important that one of the contributions of her export produce has been for the last ten years above a thousand tons weight of gold. Nor is it material interests merely that are attended to. Education is a subject of constant concernment to the young colony, notwithstanding the difficulties and disagreements hitherto as to some one general mode under the system of State support. There is a University, open equally to the colonial youth of all religious persuasions; while the Melbourne Public Library, for its magnificent scale, and those facilities of arrangement that invite every one to its great and yearly-increasing collections, is a feature probably unsurpassed in this direction among the higher attainments of our colonies. The colonial Parliament, in yearly sessions of well nigh the whole year's duration, discusses every point of the general welfare; and if the various views, which a condition of civil liberty will ever bring forth, do not always harmonize favourably for action, it is rarely from the want of effort or earnestness.

But is there not another side to all this energy of physical and moral life? We must needs presume that in every society enjoying political freedom there will be class warfare. This is inherent in the nature of the case—in that appreciation of rights and privileges which gives the desire both to have them and to use them. Australia has presented this feature in somewhat strong relief of late years, in consequence of the internal change in each colony resulting from its having acquired the powers of self-government. In the prompt development of a democratic society in the principal colonies, as the result of the withdrawal of the Imperial hand, and of the local irresponsible Government it sustained, we may estimate somewhat the pressure of that hand by which the tendencies of a British colonial society had been restrained. Under this pressure arose the old colonial Government system and its party in the colony, and both fell so soon as the pressure from without was removed. The colonial societies then settled themselves according to their respective composition and circumstances. There was for a time a process of readjustment. The old relations were considerably changed; some who had been at the summit were there no longer, while others, who were new to such conspicuous quarters, occupied the first ranks. Political composition.

We have already had occasion to allude to these changes. They were accompanied by some misgivings, especially on the part of those who comprised the dominant circle in the old order of things. These latter might fairly anticipate that the retirement of the Imperial Government from the scene would be their own fall, while the numbers, independent position, and pretensions of the working classes would give them the chief political influence. Indeed, others in the colony, Democratic tendencies.

besides those who wielded influence under the old order, hesitated with old English feeling at manhood suffrage. In Victoria discussion on the question went on at a lively pace. It was soon seen that the position and influence of those who in this country would be termed the lower or the poorer classes, but who in the colony could hardly come under either designation, were too strong to admit of withholding the franchise from them more than from any others. Gradually, therefore, the disposition became general in colonial society to accept the circumstances of the colonial case; and within two years the Government, still headed by the Premier of the previous order, Mr. Haines, brought forward and carried the manhood-suffrage measure.

Recognized and accepted.

In Victoria, then, the new political conditions have been very generally accepted, those minds that partook of "the old school," for the most part frankly disrobing themselves of past prejudices, or, at all events, ostensibly accepting the facts before them. This cordiality has not been unresponded to, as most of the administrations, since self-government began, have been partly composed and sometimes headed by public men who were associated with the preceding Government. And with regard, also, to other circumstances, the present administration, under Mr. M'Culloch, himself one of the principal merchants, comprises a very fair amount of the ability and experience, the education and social position of the colony.

Resisted in New South Wales.

In New South Wales, on the other hand, the old party—if we may so speak—has held, in great measure, aloof from the new influences. The Governor of the day, Sir William Denison, not unwillingly gave this party a vantage ground by nominations from its ranks to the Upper House, a position to which the social rank,

experience and ability of most of these nominees well entitled them. But all these high qualities were arrayed in opposition, and seemingly a 'vain' opposition, to the new tendencies. Gradually, indeed, but reluctantly, the Conservative Council ratified the democratic assembly. The manhood-suffrage measure, as regarded the latter, was passed about the same time as in Victoria. This was even less distasteful than a reformed land measure, that high party question as between squatters and the other colonists, and between the old ideas generally and the new. The persistently refractory Upper House brought affairs to a crisis, and the measure was at length passed by the penultimate process of flooding the Council with "more liberal elements."

Nominee Council inefficient.

This exposure of the weakness of nominated Councils has provoked a view in the colony, or rather in the Council itself, more favourable to an elective system for the Upper as well as the Lower House, the subject being at present before the Colonial Parliament. One consequence of these disagreements is, that the government of the colony rests solely in the Assembly, and that the community is practically deprived of its old political heads, greatly to its detriment for the time being, and until the blank shall have been adequately supplied from the new political world that comes crowding forward.

Manhood suffrage.

Perhaps it would be wrong to conclude that even in Victoria the manhood suffrage is complacently regarded in every quarter. By its means the cultivated classes are, of course, altogether outflanked by the mass of the other classes. And yet it is impossible not to acknowledge the circumstances of the colony. A society left freely to its own internal adjustment will soon indicate where social power in the main rests. Victoria has

done this, and it has been entirely a question of social and moral power throughout, without the slightest tendency towards the physical during all the suffrage discussion. But accustomed English feeling still lingers on the colonial ground, and, as one may say, such feeling is latent to a much greater extent than it is patent. There are still not a few hopes and expectations current that manhood suffrage will prove a failure, and that the people themselves may, by and by, take this view of the measure, and allow of its alteration. A late amendment of the Electoral Act has been hailed by this section as a first and important reactionary step in the right direction.

Distrusted by some.

Strongly cherished by most.

With the limited experience as yet of democratic rule in Victoria and her sister colonies, there is room in this high political question for a latitude of opinion as to what may or may not result from it in after years. We think, however, that in such views as those just mentioned the precedents of old societies are too much depended on for predicating of new and differently constituted communities. If patriotic colonial theorists have assured themselves that good government must be impossible in the confusion of a general franchise, are they prepared to begin reform by sacrificing their own votes? They may depend upon a reluctance equal to their own on this point with every one else, where all classes feel, pretty much in an equal degree, their importance and independence. The numerical preponderance argument is generally an impressive one only to those who feel the disadvantage of being in the numerical minority. If circumstances have given them superiorities of a higher kind than those of mere numbers, they have at least a noble field for bringing such qualities into exercise.

But again, as to the colony's condition, the existence of the manhood-suffrage measure is not the cause of Victoria's democracy; it is only one of the normal results; it is the adjusting of the political to the social constitution. No system of qualifications can well be adopted without, as a consequence, the exclusion of one half of the people. But constituted as Victoria's society is, unless this half, supposing that by any accident its exclusion were accomplished, can be lulled into a permanent political slumber, it will have influence sufficient to unseat any Government whatever in the colony. Suited to Victoria's case.

The hopes of the anti-democratic colonists have over estimated the lately amended electoral Act. It contains indeed some excellent regulations as between candidates and electors, but nothing materially to encroach upon manhood suffrage. It enacts that those who are not qualified under a small rating charge, acquire an "electoral right" upon personal demand and the subscription of their name. One might feel curious to ascertain how many or rather how few the latter ordeal may really exclude; for, if those various hieroglyphics that are now so fashionable as signatures are not to pass muster, we fear that upper as well as lower ranks must be amenable to exclusion. We are not sure, moreover, that the cause of the Government generally will find advantage in leaving to the non-rated public the business, troublesome and time-losing, perhaps, of securing their own franchises. The restless spirits and the hot politicians of society and all their following will, we may be sure, be marshalled to the last man, with handwriting good, bad, or indifferent; but the quiet satisfied section of the masses—the conservative momentum of the mechanism, as far as they New Electoral Act.

go, will probably tell for much less than is desirable. There is no ostensible party opposed to the manhood suffrage in the colony. The possibility of the late electoral measure operating towards a restriction of the franchise was alluded to, apparently without reason, by way of opposition to the late ministry of Mr. O'Shanassy, which had originated the measure. The main object of the Act was to facilitate, by such judicious regulations as a growing experience suggested, the action of the huge electoral fabric presented by a manhood-suffrage system, and especially to guard against personation.*

But may not the colony go on favourably under its present institutions? After the past experience, most observers will hardly doubt this result, however much they might desire a better guarantee than manhood suffrage appears to them to give for a due predominance to education, social position, and the qualities that make a gentleman. The actual result in Victoria has been, however, no proscription of such qualities, as they have been the frequent object of popular preference, where not placed in a hostile attitude to the great popular object of a common suffrage.

The educated and the self-made.

We must bear in mind that the utilitarian is the predominating colonial idea. As the powers of usefulness are not a monopoly of the cultivated classes, especially on the practical stage of a young colony, so these classes do not monopolize the colonial public arena.

* The total voters on the roll for the general election of 1861 was 168,841, out of a total population of 513,896. This population excludes the aborigines, the Chinese, and most foreigners. The naturalized foreigners in 1861 were only 250. The proportion who voted in 1861 was 45·7. In New Zealand, where a moderate qualification still holds, there were, in the same year, 13,466 enfranchised, out of 34,241 males of 21 and upwards.

An education of the higher order does not fail to be appreciated when it shows its effects in the actual business of life. Thus, for example, able and well-educated lawyers are ever in full proportions the components of the Colonial Parliament and the Colonial Government. But as regards those who may be called self-made men, whose abilities, experience, and success have marked in them capacity for the public service, nothing is now more common in the colony than for the cultivated part of its society to promote the advancement of such men even to the highest offices, in preference to less trustworthy opponents of their own order. And many will do this, who would yet in theory contend for an upper-class rule. This is the logic of circumstances, of the practical and the useful, and of common sense.

Well-being, material and political.

It might seem to many that, after all, there was little gained, for instance, to material well-being, between the new order of things and the old, apart from the political considerations of the case, whatever they may be worth. A very different impression, however, will prevail, on glancing at the colony's later as compared with its earlier statute-book, and examining, in addition, if that be possible, the almost endless local legislation, district, municipal, and gold-mining, that has been already framed, and is being daily added to, under the stimulus of conscious controul and self-government. Under this system the wants and requirements everywhere come at once to the surface, and command a discussion on their merits. The repression more or less of this energy of political and social life under the old colonial system is equivalent to a diminution of material results as well as other disadvantages. The Ballarat civil outbreak of the year 1854, for instance,

may perhaps be regarded as an impossible occurrence under the present order of things, with not merely its sympathies between the governing and the governed, but with the accomplished results of these sympathies in elaborate local legislation, adapted to do equal justice to all, and to meet the convenience, assist the industry, and restrain the tempers of the toiling miners. Victoria may fairly regard her free political institutions as amongst the sources of that energy which secured for her the first industrial position amongst the colonies at the Great Exhibition.

Some defects.

The defects of such democratic governments are naturally the most familiar to the view of the mother country, remotely situated as she is from the scene, and prepossessed by a different political system. The value of the practical mind in a colony is often impaired by its narrowness. For instance, our colonial self-made men are mostly protectionists in their commercial views. But as to this and other defects, the real question is, not whether a democratic Government is better or worse in the abstract than any other, but whether or not it is the best suited to the colonial case. That case has its defects. The very fact that every class and person in a community takes an active part in public affairs is enough for us to infer a perpetual unrest over the political surface, with strong party feelings, and very rough and intemperate displays, as minds cultivated and uncultivated deliver themselves in opposing strains upon exciting topics. The Imperial hand, during the colony's younger days, in a great measure repressed such displays. No such hand represses them now, and so far to the colony's disadvantage. But could any other political system be now established with the accord of the society itself?

And, besides, we must regard the whole manifestations as bound in one category with the energy and progress we have so repeatedly had occasion to allude to.

The exclusive and the democratic.

The mixed scene of the practical man and the scholar, the self-raised and the inheritor of social position, is not a disadvantage in colonial government and legislation. Such a picture represents what is really the colony far more than would any imaginary circle of exclusive society. The past system was more conducive to an uncontested supremacy of exclusive circles of this kind. But the experience of colonies is not favourable to such restrictiveness, even if it could secure to itself permanent existence. A governing body so respectable in its way as this ideal, might indeed present a complete contrast to some of the failings of its actually existing brother at Melbourne. But its members would want sadly the bonds of sympathy with the mixed and busy world outside, and the requisite stimulus for getting through with all the work they either had or ought to have before them. They would want interest, and they would want earnestness; and, as a true colonial politician might dread, they would too often want their dinner when the wonted hour came round, and shortly thereafter their beds—the last all the more urgently if they had secured the first. Under the old system in Victoria, the legislative labours, never very arduous during that time, were not seldom diversified by some pleasantry upon the methodical thinning out of the benches, no matter what the question, as certain well-known hours of the afternoon or evening came round.

Transition ordeal.

Colonial politics do often appear to outside observers a very chaos of objectless confusion. Very different, however, is the perception of these things in the colony,

where the history and prospects of the chief questions of the day are generally known to all. A whole ocean of discussion, too, on many questions, seems to have served no practical purpose. The explanation of most of this is, that the colony, in assuming lately its own government, has had to ascertain its own mind, and to discipline its public, with their thousand and one diversities of opinion, into party co-operation, and a definite course one way or another for actual business. These preliminaries may now be regarded as accomplished, so that action has already been taken upon most leading questions, under the public views as modified by the new political relations. There have been two difficulties in the way; first, as to the public agreeing amongst themselves; second, as to superseding objectionable former modes and arrangements, and thus disturbing an established order. The multiplied public discussions are, as it were, the soundings on all such questions, and a course is generally indicated at last.

Two illustrative cases.

We shall briefly illustrate this political condition by selecting as instances two questions that have received at least as much discussion, and encountered as many difficulties as any others in a considerable category. The reader may be alarmed to learn that we are again approaching the subjects of immigration and the land question; but we would reassure him by a promise to take only the marrow of each subject, and giving it a summary disposal.

Immigration policy.

A large immigration of people, such as is the life of an infant colony, with probably a vast and empty territory, would be only a subject of consternation to an old society. The case is aptly illustrated by the alarms of our home parish authorities with regard to the influx of each other's surplus and poor population, as contrasted

with the eagerness of our younger colonies to acquire even the humblest towards the expansion of their society. But colonies themselves by degrees acquire a consistency that restricts their absorptive quality, in this way, of all and sundry humanity. There is gradually less place for a miscellaneous crowd from without. As the colonial population within itself is continually expanding, so the colonial youth are filling the vacancies of enlarging enterprise. In a thriving colony, indeed, there is elbow-room more or less everywhere; and the colony is made still more thriving if that spare room, whatever it is, whether for the capital of an employer, or the labour of the employed, be suitably filled up. But more and more is it necessary, if considerable additions be kept up from without, that they be of a kind suitable to the colony. The day of turning the hand to everything has passed. That sort of work will not pay now-a-days; the greater capital, the larger experience, the superior skill and industry, everywhere gain the day, and the inferior in everything is starved out. And great, too, is the general advantage resulting to the colony from this state of things; for the requisites of life are all now cheap instead of dear, and the social aspects are tidy instead of slatternly.

Miscellaneous arrivals unsuitable.

The advices from the colony, however various and apparently contradictory on this subject of immigration and employment, are all to the purport of these remarks, and explained by this state of the case. Hence, there may be a sadly long list of unrequired needlewomen and governesses, while thorough housemaids, good cooks, and practised laundresses cannot be had for the increasing households. Hence, a long array of miscellaneous arrivals, new and old, continuously out

Who are suitable.

of employment; while the skilled workman—the blacksmith, the carpenter, the stonemason—is but little beholden to employers, fights with them successfully at times over an eight hours' instead of ten hours' labour-question at the same wages, and withal, in a country now on the whole cheaper to live in than England, earns as much in one day as many a home family must be content with for a week.

Chiefly females.

These remarks are applicable to the subject of immigration generally into Victoria, but so far as immigration is a political question, they apply to that division of it that is either wholly or partially at the public expense. A colony could hardly show more convincingly its desire for additional population, or give better evidence of an existing vacancy, than by devoting its public funds to immigration. There is one more prominent feature in the colonial case, namely, the great inequality of the sexes. There are still but two females to three males. While any such great disparity exists, no Government-paid immigration can be more to the colony's welfare than that of females. The disparity itself is the clearest proof of the colony's wants, and the question seems mainly one of judgment as to the classes and the qualifications best suited to fill up the manifest social void.

Latest regulations.

The Government immigration regulations of the colony have been repeatedly altered by successive administrations, but generally in a direction increasingly favourable to the female sex. The colony is fain to select the young, the able-bodied, and the well-trained of both sexes. The latest regulations were issued only in 1863. They concede free passages to the younger females, chiefly those trained to domestic service, but they require a contribution, more or less,

from others, male and female. Assistance is extended to certain persons, foreign as well as British, who can introduce new industries that may be suitable to the colony. In order to diminish the difficulty arising from a mass of persons arriving in the colony without any previous provision for them, the Government, have, as much as possible, encouraged a system of special orders transmitted by resident colonists, who may be supposed desirous of introducing friends or assistants, for whom some sphere of settlement will be vacant.*

Public Lands' Policy.

The land question is a far more contentious, and indeed more difficult subject than even immigration, edged as the latter question was by the conflicting policies of the employing classes, who wanted with the public funds to import hands and keep down wages; and the employed who wanted, of course, just the reverse. The old system of selling the lands prior to self-government was to bring them all to the hammer. The Government surveyed here and there, and sold sections out of this and that locality, as was deemed fit. The sales were by public auction, the terms were cash down, or within a month, and the highest bidder was the purchaser. The miscellaneous attendance—the newly-arrived immigrant, the intending resident cultivator, the colonial capitalist, who looked to an investment or a speculation, were all in one category. They had all to abide the Government's time and choice, and to take

The old system.

* The "Victoria Gazette," of 11th August, 1863, thus regulates the cost of these free passage orders to colonial applicants :—

Sex.	Under 12 years.	12 and under 40.	40 and upwards.
Males ...	£4	£8	£9
Females .	£3	£4	£5

their chance or miss it, just as it happened. This was the art of making the colony suit itself to the laws. The endeavour of the new order was to make the laws suit the colony.

The chief object.

To promote the settlement of its lands by a resident population, and to secure the earliest actual use of its soil, are the main elements for a land policy to a young colony. This is the key to the intractable land question of Victoria. A country's soil is the surest of gold mines. That large tracts of available acres, whether in public or private holding, should year after year lie waste and unused, when, perhaps, under some different regulations, they might have been in the busy occupation of thousands of families, is a condition of things that a community accustomed to revolve public questions, would regard as amounting to a great public grievance. To be sure the pastoral use of the natural herbage in Australia redeemed the colonial area generally from the reproach of complete waste; but this use was of so slight a character as to count for little in the scale against agriculture.

Land-selling formerly insufficient.

Again, the old plan of land selling, or perhaps any other plan, might have resulted comparatively well had there been an ample supply. But the supply was generally much too small for the most part, and the sections much too large. The upset price of twenty shillings an acre, too, was, perhaps much too high, at least before the time of the gold discoveries. The result was inadequate agriculture, and an artificial scarcity amidst a natural profusion. Rent, that nightmare of old and overpeopled countries, early showed its hungry face in Victoria, while her unused lands were still as plentiful nearly as the fresh air that floated over them. This unhealthy condition, however, carried accumulating

difficulties to a reforming Government; for those who had acquired their landed possessions on the dear terms of the old system were naturally jealous of the "facilities" to future purchasers that were freely spoken of by land reformers under the new political order. And withal, the old system had prevailed so long, and the colony had become so extensively occupied with one pursuit and another, that it became a confusing question with many whether the day of special systems had not gone past.

New Regulations.

But the subject was a favourite one, and theories long repressed had now found vent at last. For a time, however, no legislation was possible in the face of endless difference of views. At length came Mr. Nicholson's Land Act of 1860. Next followed the superseding and amending Act of 1862. We have before alluded to these Acts. Their main object was to afford facilities to intending resident agriculturists, and to secure improvements and cultivation. For these purposes, a vast area of choice to the public is to be open at all times, and although twenty shillings an acre still remains the price, its amount is practically lessened by the concession of a long credit without interest for one half of the purchased area, as well as by the absence of the auction ordeal, with all its delays, its contingent disappointments, and its system of selecting for the purchaser, instead of the purchaser for himself. Residence is one of the conditions, and there is a limitation to the quantity that each person may purchase annually under these special facilities.

Results, partial failure.

These regulations immediately resulted in a greatly increased land buying. But it was soon found that capitalists were buying largely of the best lands by means of the evasive use of other names besides their

own. In fact, the colony being already well supplied with both capital and population, much of its public lands was of more current market value than the price as fixed by the Government. But what was still worse for these new rules, the civil courts decided in favour of capital, whose common law right of free investment was not to be defeated, except by a very specially-worded Act. The present ministry of Mr. M'Culloch has fallen heir to the land question, and has already offered to the Parliament some amendments upon the Act of 1862, which have been rejected. These amendments had chiefly in view the grand objects of residence and cultivation. The Assembly seemed to think that compulsion in these respects was either an undesirable or an impossible policy. And thus stands the question for the present; the Act of 1862 being in force, but the public disappointed with its results, and the Government restricting its operation until some other and more suitable amendments can be devised.

Condition of Victoria.

These instances may suffice amongst a hundred, all of them ramified by the untiring general interest in public affairs. There is a noise and rudeness in all this incessant activity of the young colony, as compared with the measured cadence of an old society. Victoria is taken to task on this account by home writers and politicians, her democratic liberty looking at a distance like democratic licence. Sir Henry Barkly, the late Governor, before taking leave of the colony, alluded somewhat pointedly to this subject. He commented upon the political freedom, the social security, and the remarkable progress and prosperity of Victoria, in opposition to the erroneous and absurd opinions put forth even by home writers of authority and by a por-

Sir Henry Barkly's opinion.

tion of the home press.* He was even disposed to think, looking, he said, to late accounts from the other side, that there was more security to life and property in the streets of Melbourne than in the streets of London. What is our good mother to say to such a challenge as this? After transporting her most dangerous social elements to Australia, or anywhere else, she is comfortably prepossessed that she has the best society, and the wisest institutions on the face of the globe. She has indeed a great deal to boast of; but the world may have other spots that are not less favoured, and Sir Henry is most emphatic in pronouncing Victoria to be one of them.

Imperial relations.

There has been no feature more apparent in Victoria and her sister colonies than the increase of loyal sentiment towards the parent State since the concession of self-government. The great practical advantage to the colonies arising from this state of feeling consists in the influence of the Imperial example, an influence all the more powerful because it is now uniformly wielded by the home authorities with cordiality and forbearance.

Lord Grey on Colonial policy.

Lord Grey, in his work on Colonial Policy, speaking of the influence for good that the Imperial Government may exercise over colonies, even after they are left to their own administration, illustrates his views by the case of Canada, which had been thus restrained from a commercial policy of protection, when the restrictions imposed by the United States, and their powerful example, would have otherwise led to this course. We may add that in Victoria also the rising hydra of protection has been ever attacked by the prominent argument of the Imperial example. Lord Grey continues, "that without depriving the colonies of the full enjoy-

* See the "Melbourne Argus," Sept. 25, 1863.

ment of political liberty, and of the right of managing their own affairs, the Government of this country does possess the means of exercising a powerful influence over their councils, and that the connection of the various parts of the British Empire need not be rendered so merely nominal as some persons suppose, by the abstinence of the mother country from exerting an imperious control over her dependencies." Each successive year's experience in Australia of the present system of colonial policy has but confirmed Lord Grey's anticipations.

APPENDIX A.

(*Referred to at page 74.*)

[*Copy of the second number of the earliest Port Phillip newspaper. N.B.—The publication was weekly, the first number having appeared on the 1st of January, 1838. These two numbers, and seven succeeding, were in manuscript; in other respects the present copy is a fac-simile.*]

THE

Melbourne Advertiser

PORT PHILLIP AUSTRALIA

written for and published by John P. Fawkner

Monday January the 8th 1838, Melbourne

No. 2 Vol 1st.

For London direct

The fine fast sailing ship Hartlys Burthen 400 Tons will be ready to receive Wool early next month the greater Part of her Cargo being engaged She will meet quick dispatch this vessel possesses very Superior accommodations

For Freight or passage
Apply to W. F. A. Rucker
Queen Street 29 Dec

For Launceston

The fast Sailing Cutter Jemima will leave for the above port on the 20th Jany 1838—

Apply to W. F. A. Rucker

Geelong Trader

The well known Schooner Lapwing will sail regularly between the above Port and Melbourne leaving the latter place every tenth day

For Freight or passage
Apply to the Master on Board or to
W. F. A. Rucker—Queen Street

Lost

On the 17th Decm last between Melbourn and the Ford of the Salt Water River A Ladys handsome Gold Ear Drop whoever will bring the lost Earring to the Office of this paper shall be handsomely rewarded

Wanted

A good Serviceable Cart mare
Apply at this office—29 Decmb 1837

For Sale

Fit for Breeding or for the Butcher 20 Choice Pigs—Enquire at
Fawkners Hotel

On Sale

250 Head of prime Cattle these are adapted for breeding being choice stock. A part are fit for the Supply daily required by the Butcher
Apply to John P. Fawkner
January the 1st 1838

Also

From one to 30 good usefull Horses the greater number of these animals are quiet Saddle Horses and will Carry a Lady

Enquire at the Office of this Paper

Notice

From 100 to 2000 feet of good Cedar at 6 pence per foot 20,000 Shingles at 20/ per 1000 Window Sills of Sydney Stone and large Size worked or rough. 2000 5 feet split Paling for sale of V D Land manufacture at 12/ per 100 they are ready for delivery orders on V D Land will be taken in payment of the above

John. P. Fawkner

Port Phillip Packet

This fine Fast Sailing Cutter will be kept as a regular Trader between this Port and Launceston carries from 30 to 40 Bales of Wool and is confidently expected to arrive at this Port on the tenth instant

For particulars Enquire of
Captain Akers

January the 1st 1838

On Sale

A quantity of Superior New Zealand Pine in Log and in flooring Boards Apply to

Mr. Horatio Cooper Melbourne
or to Mr. Hugh McLean
Williams Town

The undersigned has for Sale at his Stores the following goods to which he begs to call the attention of the Public

Flour—Tea—Sugar
Tobacco Brazil and Negrohead
Tobacco Stems—Pork—Cheese and Potatoes—Rice—Oats Oatmeal Spices —Raisins Clothing of every description. Boots Stockkeepers light and strong Willington and Shoes Gentlemens Superior Riding Coats

Wines—Port—Sherry—Claret
Sicilian Red and White
Cape, &c. &c.

spirits Brandy Rum and Gin in case Highland Whisky Bottle Ale and Porter Burton and Ashlys in Hhds and Barrels

Sheep wash Turpentine
Linseed Oil Paints
and Window Glass

Continued over

Mr. Ruckers list continued

Timber of every description Well seasoned from Hobart and Launceston New Zealand Pine

Nails Batten Shingle and Hurdle

Shoemakers Toe and Heel Sprigs

Leather—Sole Kip and Kangaroo

Saddlery whips and spurs

spades and Shovels Locks and Hinges Gunpowder and Shot Ladys dress Shoes

Hats

Best London Beavers and Gossamill (White and Black) Manilla Hats and Caps

Bugging Woolpacks Needles and Twine &c as well as a variety of other articles too numerous for insertion

Queen St W. F. A. Rucker

29 Decm

Blacksmith and farrier

adjoining Fawkners Hotel

All work of the above Branches performed quickly and neatly

Horses shod Cash 0 „ 7 „ 0

Credit 0 „ 9 „ 0

All other work in proportion.

First established Hotel

in Melbourne Fawkners Hotel supplies to the Traveller and Soujourner all the usual requisites of a Boarding House and Hotel of the very best quality being mostly laid in from the first Mercantile House in Cornwall V D Land in addition to which there will be found mental recreation of a High order.

There are provided 7 English and 5 Colonial Weekly Newspapers seven British Monthly Magazines Three Quarterly British Reviews up to July and August 1837

A very choice selections of Books including Novels, Poetry, Theology History Philosophy Chemistry &c

N„B„ A late Encyclopedia. The use of any of these works will be free to the Lodgers at the above Hotel

---

T. D. Weatherly takes

this early opportunity to inform his friends and the Public that he supplies Families with the best wheaten Bread at the lowest possible price and to those who wish it he allows one Months Credit.

Poets, corner.

1

Oh! what a pure and sacred thing
Is beauty curtained from the sight
Of the gross world, Illumining
One only Mansion with her light,

2

Unseen by mans disturbing eye
The flower that blooms beneath the sea,
Too deep for sunbeams, doth not lie
Hid in more chaste obscurity.

Particulars of the Murder of Constable Tomkins

The Bushranger Cummerford having given information that One Dugnall had murdered Six Bushrangers between Port Phillip and Portland Bay The Govr. in Chief Sir Rd. Bourke sent Cummerford to P. P. to point out where this act had been perpetrated; in Accordance with these orders W. Lonsdale Esq P.M. here sent Cummerford under charge of a Sergeant one Soldier and two Constables in the proposed direction Cummerford did guide this party to where he himself a Shoemaker (name unknown) and Dugnall had as he stated murdered in cold blood and while sleeping six human beings. The Party declare that they found from 1 to two Bushels of human bones calcined —— some human teeth and also hair was found unburnt and a quantity of Shoenails and Buttons from the clothes of the murdered men This was about 210 miles from Melbourne On the way home they fell in with and bought the bone of a Horses head said to be Mr. Ebdens which was shot by Dugnall and Cummerford on their way home One Constable and the Soldier turned back for some tea left behind and the Sergeant, Tomkins and Prisoner came homewards they stopped to cook before these men returned and the Sergeant gave his musket to Tomkins while he made a fire. Tomkins it does appear culpably left the firearms and the Prisoner siezed a musket and shot Tomkins so that he died within 3 hours. The ball it appeared entered his left side and came out at the right breast and cut diagonally across the right forearm to the bone This coolblooded wretch plundered the packhorse and finally escaped though pursued by the Sergeant for some time This took place on the Saturday the 30 Dec, on Jany 1 he was taken by 3 of Mr W Wedge's men after having plundered*

of a Double barrelled gun he wished to get a horse and threatened

The lives of several of the principal Graziers of this district he was taken while trying to get a horse Cummerford is a light well made youth about 19 he has rather a prepossessing look and very mild voice, small fine neck, and remarkably large upper head the lower part is very small and the chin recedes towards the neck so as to make a very strange appearance when looked closely into

We trust that the Three men who prevented the Atrocities meditated by this Brutal Wretch will receive their Free and Unconditional Pardons. For we in common with many of our fellow Colonists hold that Incentive is in such cases the best Preventive We have omitted much for want of space.

* Blotted and illegible

Errata in No. 1 For Cummerfield read Cummerford

Library—Fawkner's

Those of the subscribers to the above who took Credit when they favored this Establishment with their Support are most respectfully informed that it is usual to pay up all Arrears at the beginning of a

8 Jany 38, New Year J. P. Fawkner

Shipping Intelligence.

On Thursday the 4th instant the Jemima returned to Port having lost an Anchor, She reports the Blossom and Tasmanian Lass as Laying windbound at the Heads. Also the Mary Robson at Williamstown owing to the strong southerly gales, The Jemima having borrowed an Anchor sailed again for Launceston This morning the Cutter Industry from Hobart Town On Sunday the 7th arrived the Tamar Bowden from Launceston Cargo 600 Sheep= Jackson, she reports the Henry as about to sail for this port where she left having commenced taking in her sheep

by this arrival came a Hobart Town paper Date Jany 2 1838

The Mail per Enterprize Schooner will close at noon on Tuesday first

A wretch named Mooney has been committed for attempting to murder his wife she lies in a dangerous state.

APPENDIX B.

(*Referred to at page* 249.)

TABLE OF TARIFFS.

REPRESENTING THOSE OF THE AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES AS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1864; TOGETHER WITH A GENERAL OR FEDERAL TARIFF, AS PROPOSED BY THE FEDERAL CONFERENCE THAT MET AT MELBOURNE IN MARCH AND APRIL, 1863.

Articles.	Per	New South Wales.	Queensland.	Victoria.	South Australia.	West Australia.	Tasmania.	New Zealand.	Proposed Federal Tariff.
IMPORT DUTIES.									
Spirits.	Gal.								
Brandy, Geneva, and Gin.	...	10/	10/	10/	10/	12/	12/	9/	
Whisky and Rum	...	7/	7/	10/					
col. distilled from grain	...			6/	...	...	...	...	10/
„ „ sugar	...	6/5	...	8/	...	...	...	...	
Liqueurs, etc.	...	10/	10/	10/	10/	12/	12/	9/	
Perfumed, etc.	...	8/	7/						
Wine, not above 25 p.c. alchl.	...	2/	2/	3/		2/	...	3/	2/
„ in wood	...	...	...	...	2/	...	2/	...	...
„ bottle	...	...	...	...	3/	...	4/	...	...
Beer, all kinds	...	1*d.*	1*d.*				6*d.*		6*d.*
„ in wood	...	...	...	6*d.*	6*d.*	4*d.*	1/	6*d.*	...
„ bottle	...	...	...						...
Cider, perry, and spruce	...	3*d.*	...				4*d*		...
Tobacco, manufactured	lb.	2/	2/	2/	1/6	1/9	2/6	1/6	2/
„ unmanufactured	...	...	...	1/	...	1/	...	...	1/
„ for sheepwash	...	...	...	3*d.*	3*d.*	...	3*d.*	...	3*d.*
Snuff	...	2/	2/	2/	4/	2/6	4/	3/	4/
Cigars	...	3/	3/	5/					
Opium, unmanufactured	...	10/	10/	10/	...	...	...	...	10/
„ prepared	...	...	...	20/	...	...	...	...	20/
Tea	...	3*d.*	3*d.*	6*d.*	3*d.*	2*d.*	3*d.*[1]	4*d.*	6*d.*
Coffee and chicory	...	2*d.*	2*d.*	2*d.*	1*d.*[1]	4/ cwt.	3*d.*	3*d.*[1]	3*d.*[1]
Sugar, refined and candy	cwt.	6/8	6/8	6/	3/	4/[0]	8/	1*d.*	7/
„ unrefined	...	5/	5/			3/	6/	lb.	5/6
„ molasses	...	3/4	3/4	3/	2/		1/6		3/6
Dried fruits	...	...	...	10/	10/[2]	...	1½*d.* lb.	...	10/[2]
Hops	lb	...	...	2*d.*	...	...	2*d.*	...	3*d.*
Malt	bush	...	...	6*d.*	...	...	1/	...	6*d.*
Rice	cwt.	...	...	2/	...	...	¼*d.* lb.	...	4/
Gunpowder	lb.	...	...	...	...	...	4*d.*[3]	2*d.*	...
Shot	...	...	...	...	...	...	1*d.*	...	...
Soap	...	...	...	...	...	...	6*d.*	...	...
Starch	...	...	...	...	...	...	1*d.*	...	...
Oils, all kinds	Gal.	...	...	...	...	...	6*d.*[4]	...	6*d.*
Candles	lb.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1*d.*
Salt	Ton.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	40/
EXPORT DUTY.		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gold	oz.	1/6	...	1/6	...	...	...	...	..

[0] Perry only, and vinegar. [1] Also cocoa and chocolate. [2] Includes nuts and almonds.
[3] Blasting excepted. [4] Whale oil excepted.

FURTHER TARIFF DETAILS FOR SEVERAL OF THE COLONIES.

New South Wales.—Drawback is allowed on sugar; namely, on refined, 6*s.* per cwt.; on bastard, 5*s.* per cwt.

Victoria.—Spirits in bulk under 25 gallons cannot be imported, nor tobacco or cigars under 60 lbs. Besides the duties on the articles in the table, 2*d.* per package (or "unit of entry") is levied on all goods arriving in the colony. The export duty is on gold, manufactured and otherwise, and on foreign corn.

South Australia.—Imported timber of different kinds is differently taxed, namely, posts and rails, handspikes and poles, 1*s.* 6*d.* per 100; palings, 6*d.* per 100; shingles and laths, 6*d.* per 1000; trenails and spokes, 2*d.* per 100; oars, 2*s.* per 100 feet; spars, deals, square timber, or split timber of all kinds, not otherwise enumerated, 2*s.* 6*d.* per 40 cubic feet; cedar, 5*s.* per 40 cubic feet. There is a duty-free list. Upon all other imported articles not included either in the free or the fixed duty list, an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent.

West Australia, like South Australia, has a diversified "free list," with an *ad valorem* duty of 7 per cent. on all remaining imported goods.

Tasmania.—There are the following further fixed duties:—

SCHEDULE I.—On hams, bacon, lard, butter, cheese, nuts, walnuts, ginger, almonds, pepper, pimento, liquorice, mustard, blue, arrow-root, maccaroni, vermicelli, tapioca, 2*d.* per lb.; on cinnamon, clover, mace, Tartaric and citric acids, nutmegs, spices, mixed spices, ground spices and cassia, 4*d.* per lb.; on pearl barley, white lead, red lead, paints of all kinds, carbonate of soda, soda crystals, ½*d.* per lb.; pickles in quarts, 3*s.* per dozen; in pints, 2*s.* per dozen.

SCHEDULE II.—On manufactures of silk, cotton, woollen, etc., millinery, furs, hats, shoes, oilman's stores, glass ware, etc., 2*s.* per cubic foot; crockery, 10*s.* per package; hardware, etc., 3*s.* per cwt.; sacks, bagging, etc., 10*s.* per package.

SCHEDULE III.—"Table of Exemptions" contains a most diversified list, but too long for insertion.

New Zealand.—The following are further fixed duties:—Hardware, etc., plated ware, candles and soap, 3*d.* per cwt.; firearms, all kinds, 5*s.* each; manufactures, etc., etc., as in Schedule II. of Tasmania, 4*s.* per cubic foot.

Victoria has latterly been lengthening and complicating her tariff,

wearied, perhaps, of being a perpetual example of free-trade simplicities in this respect. A very little more effort at "rearranging the tariff" will be entirely successful in forfeiting her invidious position, if, indeed, it be not already forfeited. The last alteration made in 1863, reducing the duty on colonial-made spirits from 10*s.* on grain-made and 9*s.* 3*d.* on sugar-made, to 6*s.* and 8*s.* respectively, is the most compromising of all. The Victoria Tariff commenced in 1852 with duties on the following articles only: spirits, wines, tobacco, sugar, tea, and coffee. With reference to the remark in the text that the smaller the state the more formidable and complex the tariff, we may hope that these successful efforts at increased complication are not to be continuous; otherwise, we might have to infer that the halt in Victoria's progress for the last few years is to be continuous also.

Upon a survey of the varied ground of the above table, a Victorian may almost fear that the position his colony has held for twelve years back, has repeatedly boasted of, and has been fully credited for, is already lost. The palm is half grasped by Queensland and New Zealand. Surely, therefore, these, the most progressive members of our group, already anticipate their fast approaching greatness. In the tariff of the latter, that miscellaneous array of humanity's wants, commencing at silks, passing through furs, hats and boots, touching confectionery and spices, and ending in the varied world of oilman's stores, at 4*s.* per cubic foot all round, is rather an indigestible novelty to the outside world. New Zealand, however, has accustomed herself to this bill of fare, and, no doubt, it has a simplicity after its own kind. And yet might not an extra shilling on spirits have saved to the tariff both the joke and the complication?

APPENDIX C.

(*Referred to at page* 262.)

FURTHER REMARKS ON CUSTOMS' DUTIES AND OTHER SOURCES OF REVENUE.

After writing the Twelfth Chapter, having observed the discussions on tariff dues and revenue deficiencies that have lately taken place at Sydney, we intended introducing some further remarks on these public questions; but as the printer has been beforehand with us, we must carry out our intentions at this place.

Victoria, as well as her sister colonies, may presently experience increasing tariff difficulties. The Customs are too much relied on for revenue. As the colony increases and its society consolidates, the public income is apt to fall off by the conjoint effects of increased steadiness and economy in the population, and increased industry in home production by which the imported articles that had yielded revenue are increasingly produced within the colony. For instance, there is a falling off in the proceeds of spirit duties, because the people are more orderly and temperate; and there is a diminishing wine and tobacco revenue, because the people are producing both articles within themselves. Again, there are heavy charges upon the general revenue, because the Government has allowed itself to fall gradually into a centralizing relationship, in largely subsidizing local interests, and undertaking and managing great public works and railways.

1. Without alluding to the directest of all expedients under revenue difficulties—that of reducing the expenditure,—we may refer to several others of a different kind, suggested by the present circumstances of Victoria. Not the least effective course is by maintaining a revenue system under free trade principles, as rigorously carried out as the colony's particular case will admit. This is a policy, the very opposite of that which would specially tax those imports that competed with articles of domestic manufacture. It is a policy, however, that will bring the most revenue at the least cost and loss, and that will save the colony from diverting its labour power, under the bias of protective enactments, from employment that does remunerate to employment that does not, unless supplemented by extra prices from the public.

The late change of duty in Victoria upon colonially distilled spirits was made, ostensibly, to meet the difficulty of illicit distilla-

tion and smuggling. It carries with it, however, a very "protective" look. The previous duty was 10*s.* per gallon, being the same as that upon imported spirits, excepting that when sugar was used the rate was 9*s.* 3*d.*, a fair consideration for duty already paid on the sugar. But now the duty upon spirits from grain is 6*s.*, while that from sugar is 8*s.* per gallon, the 10*s.* rate being still maintained on the imported article. What is the principle through all this confusion? The difficulty, as to illicit procedure, is no doubt urgent, and we observed that it is regarded as a formidable obstacle to the proposal of the new ministry at Sydney to equalize the present differences in the imported spirit duties of New South Wales, fixing them all at 10*s.* per gallon. It would surely then be better to prohibit colonial distillation altogether, as in this country, on revenue considerations, tobacco growing is prohibited, than to raise up a colonial vocation on this artificial and insecure protective basis, with the practical effect of a loss of 4*s.* on every gallon to the revenue, in order that, as compensation for this sacrifice, the people may be tempted to drink bad spirits in place of good.

2. But the Customs' duties cannot, with either advantage to general business or with fairness to all classes, be pushed further for revenue. There is already, perhaps, too much strain upon them, and hence those complexities alluded to in the text, and in Appendix B. With the general well-being of colonial life, all classes partake pretty equally, man for man, of the chief dutiable goods—the tea and sugar, the spirits, wine, and tobacco. The public wants have thus been sufficiently met hitherto, and landed property and other wealth are left untouched, at least, as regards contributions to the general revenue. Other sources of taxation must, therefore, be sought, now that there is a prospect of further revenue necessities; and these, of course, are mainly the colony's alienated lands—the real estate, as our law emphatically calls it. To our idea, the lands of a colony should at the first be given for nothing to the settlers, subject to such moderate taxation as is enough for the expenses of Government. Probably there need never, in such cases, be much other taxation for general revenue purposes. However, as the lands of Victoria have not been so dealt with, they are not to be made amenable now in such a wholesale fashion; but they may contribute something to the yearly increasing expenditure due to that colonial progress that must yearly increase their value.

3. By a decentralizing system the Government may get rid of a considerable part of its expenditure, consisting of aids to local

interests. The municipal and educational aids, amongst others, may be thus transferred entirely to municipality and district rating. It is, of course, a convenient, liberal, and highly popular method to make annual grants to these useful causes, and quite proper, too, provided there be adequate means.

4. The colony's railway system, of more than eight millions cost, is certainly not an interest with which any Government, casting about for the means of reducing expenditure and increasing income, should wish to encumber its hands. The net receipts are not likely to equal the colony's payment of interest on the construction debt —under Government management, at least. In private hands they may do this and more. The Government have already estimated that two-thirds of the interest may be derived from the traffic when the lines are complete, as they will be towards the end of 1864. And this result, which seems not unlikely to be realized, speaks unexpectedly well for the young colony's ability to maintain its railway system. But whatever the result under Government management, there is certainly a result still better awaiting private management.

There may be difficulties, perhaps, in arranging for advantageous leases of the lines. If so, there may be another and yet better resource; for it is not improbable that when they are completed and present a well-developed traffic, the original idea might yet be carried out of ownership by a joint-stock company. Under the promising aspect of the case, a moderate subsidy, or a minimum guarantee for a few years, might be inducement enough; and if the colony will but bide its opportunity for the London market, the requisite capital might be raised, both easily and on moderate terms, to the saving, perhaps, of as much good British money, in some day of superabundance, going on a worse errand. The large railway loan being thus provided for, the colony, which would then stand all but clear of debt (about one million only remaining, or but one-third of a year's revenue), would be fairly free to engage, to some moderate extent, in further public works, or rather, in one special and very desirable enterprise. Victoria might then undertake a grand system of irrigation, including a further and complete water supply to all the gold fields. This operation, which, even on its gigantic scale, would probably not cost one-fourth of the railway system, might, even more than the other, advance and enrich the country, besides being the means of very sensibly ameliorating its climate.

APPENDIX D.

(*Referred to at page* 443.)

THE new Board of Education in Victoria, alive to the dissensions and dangers that the religious element involves in the education question, published a circular, dated the 13th of November, 1863, of which the following is an extract:—"The Board disapproves of teachers preaching, or engaging in the conduct of public services, or otherwise undertaking the performance of duties which appertain more properly to the office of a minister of religion than to that of a teacher of a public school." Disapproval of political as well as religious activity is also expressed.

We observe that one of the Protestant congregations of the colony vehemently protests against this ruling of the Board, urged more particularly by the fact that one of the national school-teachers happened to be an elder of the religious body. The suitable reply in such a case is to conjure up to the zealous Protestant the picture of an equally zealous Catholic, who, like a true devotee, flies to his sectarian and proselytizing duties the moment he has closed his unsectarian school. There will doubtless, in all fairness, be Catholic as well as Protestant teachers in these cosmopolitan schools.

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